The Letters *of* *Alciphron*

A UNIFIED LITERARY WORK?

Edited by

MICHÈLE BIRAUD
& ARNAUD ZUCKER

MNEMOSYNE SUPPLEMENTS LATE ANTIQUE LITERATURE

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The *Letters* of Alciphron

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Preface

The *Letters* of Alciphron have survived the passage of time with exceptional discretion and the author is still practically anonymous today: apart from the reverence shown by Aristaenetus (5/6 AD) in a fictitious exchange of letters between Alciphron and Lucian, Greek scholarship has not quoted this work for nearly a millennium.[1]

This work is still relatively neglected today and its discredit is due to 'external' reasons, which could be described as ideological: it belongs to the late period of ancient literature, corresponds to a minor genre, has a fragmented character, and does not refer to any express 'authority', since the discourse is divided into a series of disparate speakers (epistolary impersonations) in letters without continuity, which generally went unanswered. In addition, it does not possess any of the qualities that made Ovid's *Heroïdes* prestigious, nor does it belong to the category of the epistolary corpus with a historical value, unlike the personal correspondence of actual writers.

The first critics who took an interest in Alciphron's *Letters* considered the 'author' a mere imitator, a vehicle of ideas entirely inhabited by others. His work was often regarded as a pedantic patchwork of reminiscences[2] and a collection of realistic if not veristic[3] portrayals. The situation has partially changed only in the 21st century.

Alciphron's collection has been approached from different angles, but generally among other compilations of fictitious epistles[4] and more as a cultural witness than as a singular work. It is seen as a product of the Second Sophistic or as representative of the epistolary genre; furthermore, from a documentary point of view it is read as a text that bears witness to the Hellenic culture of its time,[5] or finally it is viewed from limited perspectives of intertextuality or

1 The first author to mention the *Letters* of Alciphron, fleetingly, is Eustathius, ad *Il.* 2.756.12 Van der Valk (ὁ Ἀττικιστὴς Ἀλκίφρων).

2 See Vieillefond [1979: 139].

3 *Alciphronem … quasi imagines ad verum expressisse* (Seiler [1856: 4]).

4 Many books have appeared over the last fifteen years on epistolary literature, notably the pioneering book of P. Rosenmeyer (*Ancient Epistolary Fictions*, 2001) and the collective works edited by L. Nadjo and É. Gavoille (*Epistulae antiquae, le genre épistolaire antique et ses prolongements européens*, 2000–2002), R. Morello and A.D. Morrison (*Ancient Letters*, 2007) and O. Vox (*Lettere, mimesi, retorica. Studi sull'epistolografia letteraria greca*, 2013), but none is specifically dedicated to the *Letters* of Alciphron.

5 There is general agreement that it was composed at the very end of the 2nd cent. AD or during the first half of the 3rd cent. AD.

literary history (Alciphron's use of sources in some letters, or particular themes such as love or country life, or the debated question of whose writings came first, Alciphron's or Lucian's).

Most other compilations of fictitious epistles have been the subject of specific studies highlighting their literariness: not only the collection of Aristaenetus (e.g. in Bing and Höschele 2014) and the twenty farmers' letters composed by Aelian (e.g. Leone 1974 and 1975), but also more atypical works such as Chion's novel which reconciles a certain use of the epistolary genre with the imperatives of romantic fiction (Billault 1977). Conversely, not one single publication has analysed Alciphron's letters specifically from the point of view of their degree of literariness, and very few articles exist highlighting a particular intentionality at work in the collection.[6]

At first glance, Alciphron's collection of letters, which is composed of four books, named according to their correspondents (fishermen, farmers, parasites and courtesans), seems like a medley of separate worlds loosely joined into a four-piece collection. This book aims at exploring the coherence of this collection as a whole and the specific intentionality of its author. It is the result of investigations and discussions which culminated in a recent symposium on this very topic (Nice, June 2016). The challenge of each contribution is to discover whether or not all four books possess the unity of a literary project, i.e. do they share aesthetic and stylistic elements and construction processes that render them a single *opus*? This hypothesis is explored, validated and detailed from several perspectives. A further investigation concerns the individual consistency of the books: is each separately functioning as a well-organised miniature letter-collection? Finally, a third focus has been on the impregnation of tradition and the auctorial originality in the composition likely to reveal a distinctive way of treating cultural heritage that goes beyond its usual reach: has Alciphron succeeded in practicing imitative intertextuality in a coherent way and with the desire to innovate in hybridization by creating a singular work likely to impact on the fictitious epistolography in its later development (in particular the kinds of short and concentrated *haiku* of Aelian or the erotic letters of Aristaenetus)? Did he revisit the prestigious past of Athens by going beyond clichés? Has he managed to skilfully combine the formal processes of construction and style of several pre-existing genres (sophisticated rhetoric, comedy and poetry)?

6 With the notable exception of the contribution of J. König, 'Alciphron's epistolarity', in Morello—Morrison 2007.

The unity of the work is likely to be expressed at these different levels, and this book proposes a methodological combination to illuminate this issue (codicological criticism, stylistic and rhetorical examination, analysis of prosody, the study of thematic treatments, the use of proper names, and the relation to tradition), either at the level of the whole collection, or at book level, or even by focusing on a test sample. This multiscale approach will be developed by aiming at three main targets: the literary program, cultural reappropriation, and generic reorientation.

One of the first steps necessary to this investigation is the description of the variations in the outline and content of each of the four books in the manuscript tradition. The manuscripts transmit the four series of letters under the name of Alciphron in a different composition and order, each series being devoted to a social type of writer and recipient. In principle, this disorder makes the global unity and the particular arrangement of the four books problematic, even if they are attributed to the same author. Nevertheless, the papers of Emeline Marquis and Andrew Morrison on manuscript tradition suggest that each of the four series of letters had a well-defined outline starting from the archetype of our manuscripts, and that in each book the letters were in an almost constant order, despite some divergences and possible shortcomings. Their papers help us to evaluate the implications of such discrepancies, while the authors comment on the choices of reconstruction made by successive editors and propose the probable framework of the genuine text.

This first insight into how far we may rely on manuscript tradition to determine the structure of the *work*, and into the conditions under which the transmission of letters may be considered as proof of a relative consistency, needs to be supplemented by other investigations.

At the micro-structural level, Emilia Barbiero studies the series of letters 1 to 6 of the third book and concludes that it displays the marks of a deliberate and elaborate *sequential ordering* on the part of the author, thanks to the game of time adverbs and consequently the parasites' alternate temporal perspectives on their past or imminent participation in banquets. This temporal structure is accompanied by rich games of antithesis about their situation and their relation to food. This small-scale test shows both the good preservation of the text and how meticulously a sequence can be orchestrated, all of this highlighting the sophistication of the composition.

Prosodic care and rhythmic virtuosity are the objects of the analysis of Book 1 by Michèle Biraud. She reveals its construction in a diptych, based on numerical equalities, onomastic echoes and thematic parallels. Her study also discovers and explores the unexpected rhythmic richness of certain letters once

they are read according to the stress-based rhythm (the mode of pronunciation shared by the greater part of the population in Alciphron's day) and various degrees of this *rhythmic elaboration* which coincide with intentions either argumentative or lyrical, and also with the search for a more accomplished rhythmic development for the boundaries of each part of the diptych. This search for more or less dense rhythms and a construction concerned with ring-composition and parallels between balanced parts shows the high degree of elaboration of the work in its most formal aspects.

The conclusion which can be drawn at the end of this first investigation is that it is certain that Alciphron had envisaged a concerted order of letters in each book, and that the original order of letters, at least for Book 1 and the beginning of Book 3, is well maintained. There is, moreover, evidence to suggest the preservation of the correct order of letters in the rest of the corpus, with a few exceptions. These four studies also show, each in its own way, that it is best to follow the text of the manuscript (or one of them) as closely as possible, to avoid gap hypotheses, preserve the syntax (unless there is a strong argument linked to another level of interpretation in favour of a modification), and to rely precisely on the graphical evolutions for any hypothesis of restitution in the case of a *locus desperatus*.[7]

In order to break new ground within the cultural framework of the Second Sophistic, an author had to reinterpret, above all, the heritage and cultural background in an original way and thus modify the horizon of the external reader's expectations in order to access new meanings through inter- and intra-textual games. The unity of the choices and the constancy in the interpretations and manipulations of the cultural background in several texts are also, for modern scholarship, clear signs they were written by the same author.

The study of references to *mythological characters and narratives* leads Sophie Schoess to conclude that even those that are predominantly proverbial nevertheless ensure the unity of theme and trope within each book (e.g. those found in the *Fishermen's letters* are mainly marine), and constitute a unifying factor in all books. Furthermore, the cross-reading of mythological references accrues meaningful implicatures between them, particularly in the *Letters of Parasites* and *Letters of Courtesans* (e.g. if we read Glycera's life in parallel with the story of Ariadne, it highlights both the aspirations and fears of her love story with Menander). Sophie Schoess shows that the learned man's activity of reading this text leads him to construct a new and extremely complex literary universe from these letters.

7 See e.g. Biraud [2010: 334–335].

Onofrio Vox looks at the specificity of *women's voices* in the twenty-seven letters from female senders. They continually turn to literary models through female authors (e.g. Sappho) or female speakers (e.g. Theocritus' Simaetha). If Alciphron was seeking a human truth of the feminine *ethos*, he did so by means of literary imitation, and this is true not only of educated courtesans, but also of other women. Feminine characters express thoughts that, far from being simple, reproduce and represent the author's sophistry.

According to Guiseppe Zanetto, Alciphron, in his *Letters of Fishermen*, is freely inspired by a literary tradition devoted to their difficult existence (from Homer to the epigrams of the Palatine Anthology) and a poetic-mythological tradition linking sea and love, with reference to what he would have regarded as the typical *universe of classical Attica* (the ports of the coast and other Athenian realia, and the Platonic oppositions of sea vs land, sea vs city and sea vs virtue). Alciphron thus creates his own literary universe centred on the sea.

In the last chapter of this section, Melissa Funke carries out a detailed examination of Alciphron's references to famous sculptures of the fourth and third centuries. Departing from the ekphrastic model, Alciphron proceeds by allusions woven into the flow of the narration, with a great economy of language. She concludes that the interest of this *visual intertext* of famous statues is in allowing Alciphron to claim more nostalgic authority for his text than he would have been able to do with literary references alone.

It emerges from this second series of studies that Alciphron is not only an author with a vast cultural knowledge, which was the main prerequisite at that time for writing rhetoric, but that he is also fully and deliberately aware of his own art of writing. On the other hand, if one considers cultural themes and the point of view from which they are treated, there is no significant heterogeneity in the corpus of the four books (except that which results from the themes peculiar to each book and the environment and the *ethos* of the writers).[8] This is an important subconclusion since it does not exclude the possibility of a distinctive intentionality even if the assumption that it is due to the dominant cultural environment of the period cannot be abandoned on the basis of this criterion alone.

Some of these contributions have already shown the importance of the imitation of certain literary genres in the cultural construction of Alciphronian letters. The last four contributions of the collection attempt to clarify the equi-

8 A recently published study (Perrot 2017), which approaches musical metaphors in a more general discussion of the sound landscape, also leads to the conclusion that there is a fairly even distribution of elements which give sound to the landscape across the four books.

libria Alciphron found between the imitation of tradition and personal reconstructions through new hybridizations and the subversion of models.

Rafael J. Gallé Cejudo follows the path already trodden by recently published works on the combination of *ethopoeia* and other progymnasmatic forms,[9] and he seeks to understand how Alciphron hybridized them with the epistolary genre despite generic tensions between epistolary precepts and *progymnasmatical rhetorics*. Some epistolary elements have been forced by the rhetorical nature of the composition, and a few progymnasmatic patterns have been 'perverted' by this generic contamination. These contaminations or even absorptions sometimes alter the original functions in such a way that they can become inverted. Alciphron, interweaving generic characteristics of letter, *progymnasmata* and epigram, creates a literary sub-genre sometimes very remote from the formal conventions and contents of a 'true' letter.

But Alciphron also pursues other goals such as crossing the stylized representations of the countryside in sophistic Greek literature and the tradition of pastoral poetry inherited from Theocritus with the situations of the comedies (particularly the *Nea*) and their urban and rural characters. The analysis of this *original generic synthesis* is the subject of the contribution by Tiziana Drago. She underlines the variations produced against the conventional background and shows that the epistolographer's interest is not in reproducing the events of comedy in miniature, but in working on the characters' personalities (according to the precepts of epistolary genre and its aims, showing the writer's *ethos*) in order to focus on the most significant traits that come to light from the writings to which he alludes.

New Comedy and Pastoral Poetry also share common techniques of naming the characters which are adapted and developed in the *speaking-names* studied by Owen Hodkinson. Not only are the creative processes identical, but also the ironic distance that these names can create between the expectations of the reader regarding the character's status (based on the speaking-name which constitutes a sort of mask) and what actually happens to him. By expanding on an earlier study on the first book (Casevitz 2002) to apply to all of the books, Hodkinson shows that characters' names are not only speaking names but also dramatic constructions.

The letters of Book 4 appear to be the products of a sophist's bookish erudition and at the same time masterpieces of epistolary fictionality. The fiction lies in a series of motifs borrowed from erotic literature (epigrams or novels), encyclopaedism, pastoral poetry and Menander's comedies, but woven in an

9 E.g. Amato and Schamp [2005], Schmitz [2004], Vox [2013b].

original and picturesque way by the voices of courtesans who were historical celebrities and who make us see the Athenian world from their private point of view. Yvonne Rösch proposes a close reading in terms of a (re)animation of the Hellenic archive located around the *classical hetairai* and their popular friends. Menander, as a character of this epistolary novel and also Alciphron's authorial alter ego, harbours a love and longing for Glycera that seems parallel to a sophist's longing for classical Athens. Alciphron's *hetairai* are the object of an erotic and at the same time intellectual attraction. This unusual alliance thus sweetens the act of memorializing the Hellenic past, which is present throughout the four books of letters as longing or nostalgia, as several contributors have noticed.

Through the complex association of genres and the subverted use of the macro-structural genre (in this case, the letter), and also through its formal research, the work of Alciphron fits neatly into the literary productions of the end of the second century, such as Achilles Tatius' novel or Lucian's Dialogues, which initiate a phase of reflexivity on the genres and the playfulness of fiction; but Alciphron does it in his own way. The contributions of this publication support the idea that Alciphron created a *Book of letters* in the same way as we speak of a *Book of poems*, that is to say a unified work in several volumes, the parts of which are arranged in an elaborate composition, a mixture of rigorous but discrete architectures and a shimmering *poikilia*. In particular, these contributions help to underline the creative quality of the work, which offers miniatures and prose poems. They are not intended to propose the reconstruction of the profile of the writer, but to allow a better appreciation of the depth and quality of an original, coherent and major work.

Michèle Biraud and Arnaud Zucker

Notes on Contributors

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A.D. Morrison
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Yvonne Rösch
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A. Sophie Schoess
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Onofrio Vox
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PART 1

Structural Perspectives

CHAPTER 1

On the Structure of Alciphron's *Letters*

Émeline Marquis

When studying the work of an ancient author, one generally reverts to the most recent editions or translations, which are more easily available.* In the case of Alciphron, however, this could lead the reader to an incorrect evaluation of his *Letters*. Since all recent editions and translations present the same number of letters, and in the same order, one could get the impression that the organisation of these letters is self-evident and that the corpus is well established. In fact, the division into four books (letters of fishermen, farmers, parasites and courtesans) and the internal order of the letters within each book, as we know them, are relatively new in the printed transmission of Alciphron. These decisions were made by one particular editor, namely M.A. Schepers (with his editions of 1901 and 1905). Editors before him made completely different choices. The structure of Alciphron's work, then, is anything but self-evident. Also, the organisation of the letters is a major issue: it strongly influences the way in which we understand and interpret Alciphron's literary production.

It is thus necessary to examine how Alciphron's *Letters* were read in the past, and how we read them today. More general questions subsequently arise: in what form(s) were these letters handed down to us? Can we find any clues as to their original organisation?

First I will examine the printed tradition in order to show both the precedent created by the first edition of Alciphron's *Letters* and the groundbreaking outcome of Schepers' works. Schepers' predecessors strongly depended on the *editio princeps* (1499): to the two books of the Aldine, they simply added a third book, which was progressively extended by incorporating new letters and fragments found in manuscripts. Schepers' editions, therefore, play a crucial role in the way in which we read Alciphron's *Letters* today. Yet, none of the manuscripts known to us presents the structure in four books or the order of the letters adopted by Schepers in his editions. The second part of this study, therefore, is devoted to an extensive review of the manuscript tradition in order to understand on what basis Schepers reorganised the corpus of letters. I will also

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try to demonstrate that one can go beyond Schepers' results concerning the structure of Alciphron's *Letters*.[1]

1 The Organisation of the *Letters* in the Printed Tradition

In this section I shall not offer any new, original contributions to the history of the printed editions of Alciphron's *Letters*. My aim is instead to collect the various pieces of information concerning the organisation of the corpus that we can find in the printed editions in order to understand how this corpus has been read throughout time and how it has evolved into its present shape.

1.1 *The Aldine of 1499 and the Organisation of Alciphron's Letters in Two Books*

1499 saw the publication of the edition entitled *Epistolae diversorum philosophorum, oratorum, rhetorum* in Venice. Realised by the Cretan Marcus Musurus and published by Aldus Manutius, it contains, among others, letters by Synesius, Demosthenes, Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Heraclitus, Diogenes, Crates, Anacharsis, Theano, Philostratus, Aelian and Musonius.[2]

In between Theano's and Philostratus' letters one finds 44 letters by Alciphron. They bear the following title: ΑΛΚΙΦΡΟΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ ΑΛΙΕΥΤΙΚΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΑΙΡΙΚΑΙ. These letters are organised in two books of greatly varying lengths: the first book contains 40 letters, the second only 4. More specifically, letters 1.1–1.10, 1.14–1.22; 3.37–3.40; 2.3–2.7; 4.2–4.11, 4.14–4.15 are assigned to the first book, while letters 4.16–4.19 are assigned to the second (following Schepers' numbering in his 1905 edition,[3] which I shall adopt as point of reference to compare the content of the different editions of Alciphron's *Letters*). The first book has no subtitle; the second begins with the words: ΑΡΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΤΜΗΜΑΤΟΣ.

1 In its aims, my study is complementary to the following chapter by Andrew Morrison. We are both interested in the original structure of Alciphron's work, although we approach this issue from a different perspective. I focus on codicological and philological aspects, with a thorough investigation of the transmission of the *Letters* of Alciphron, whereas he examines in detail literary aspects and emphasises the meaning which underlies their organisation. Our conclusions converge regarding the arrangement of the letters within the books. I furthermore elaborate on the reconstruction of the books' order.

2 On this edition, see Sicherl [1997], 155–290; Sicherl [1998].

3 See Schepers [1905]. For each reference, the numeration of the book is followed by the numeration of the letter in this book.

The following observations should be made regarding the organisation of the corpus. First, it is important to underline that Alciphron's *Letters* are not edited alone but as part of a larger epistolary collection. Alciphron must thus be read within the broader context of the epistolary collection gathered in this edition. Secondly, the Aldine comprises only 44 letters, which represents around a third of the corpus at our disposal today. The four thematic groups of our modern editions and translations are indeed represented, but only partially and in a different order: letters of fishermen, parasites, farmers and courtesans. Furthermore, the overall title of the collection mentions only the fishermen and courtesans' letters, and the latter are divided into two different parts. One has to concede, however, that the number of the parasites and farmers' letters is small (4 and 5, respectively) and that several of them fall into two different categories (2.4, 2.6 and 2.7).

One cannot but wonder about the origin of this collection. Did the editor gather and reorganise letters found in different manuscripts? Or did one or several manuscripts ever contain exactly 44 letters, and in this order? According to Martin Sicherl,[4] the Aldine originated from a lost copy of the Parisinus graecus 3050, a parchment manuscript probably copied in Crete before 1470 by Demetrios Moschos.[5] Folios 73^r–101^v of the manuscript contain the same letters as the Aldine edition and, more importantly, in the same order.[6] Other letters of Alciphron appearing in folios 161^r–166^r were not taken into account. In addition, the Aldine comprises many corrections adopted from the Vaticanus graecus 1461, a parchment manuscript copied by John Scoutariotes in Rome in 1454,[7] and used as a checking copy.

The edition published in Geneva in 1606 under the name *Epistolae Graecanicae Mutuae* is a reprint of the Aldine's Greek text accompanied by a Latin translation.[8]

1.2 *The Organisation of Alciphron's Letters in Three Books: Bergler (1715) and His Successors*

With Stephan Bergler's edition, published in Leipzig in 1715 by Thomas Fritsch, Alciphron's *Letters*, for the first time, were edited as a single work. The volume

4 See Sicherl [1997], 221; Sicherl [1998], 84.

5 On this manuscript, see Sicherl [1991], in particular 103 (n. 3). See also Sicherl [1997], 197 and Sicherl [1998], 87–88.

6 With the only exception that the *Parisinus graecus* 3050 inserts in folios 80^v–81^r: Crates, *Epistula* 9.

7 See Sicherl [1997], 221; Sicherl [1998], 84 and 90.

8 Alciphron's *Letters* are pp. 359–380. The Latin translation was falsely attributed to Jacques Cujas.

bears the title *Alciphronis Rhetoris Epistolae*. The Greek text is accompanied by a Latin translation and commentary. As indicated by the subtitle of the edition, [*Alciphronis Rhetoris Epistolae*] *quarum major pars nunc primum editur*, Bergler's corpus of letters is considerably larger than the Aldine's: it comprises 116 letters, that is, it adds 72 letters to the 44 letters present in the Aldine.

Bergler reproduces the Aldine's corpus of letters and its organisation, but he also numbers both the books and the letters: thus he first edits a book I, comprising letters numbered from 1 to 40, then a book II, with letters numbered from 1 to 4. At the same time, Bergler modifies the overall title: he names his edition Ἀλκίφρονος ῥήτορος ἐπιστολαί (suppressing ἁλιευτικαὶ καὶ ἑταιρικαί) and he leaves out the title of the second book (ἀρχὴ τοῦ δευτέρου τμήματος).

Furthermore, Bergler supplements the two books of the Aldine with a third book ('book III'), which contains all the new letters (72) added to the original corpus, numbered from 1 to 72. This third book has no coherence from the point of view of the manuscript tradition: it collects letters found in various sources (that is, in different manuscripts).

More specifically, which letters did Bergler add? These are letters 1.11–1.13, 3.1–3.5, 2.1–2.2, 2.8–2.28, 2.30–2.39, 3.6–3.36 (using Schepers' numbering). The additions concern the letters of fishermen, parasites as well as of farmers. Only 3 letters of fishermen were added, while a large part of the letters of parasites and farmers became available to the readers for the first time.

Where did Bergler find these letters? In the preface to his edition he tells us that the new letters were collected from various manuscripts. The first eight letters of book III (letters 1.11–1.13 and 3.1–3.5 in Schepers) were transmitted to him separately.[9] According to Schepers,[10] the collations sent to Bergler were based on the Vaticanus Barberinianus graecus 181 from the 17th century (= Barberinianus II 2 in Schepers). Letters III 9, 10 and 33–41 (i.e. letters 2.1, 2.2, 2.31–2.39 in Schepers) come from the Vindobonensis Phil. gr. 342 (11th century) and letters III 11–32 and III 42–72 (2.8–2.28, 2.30, 3.6–3.36 Schepers) from the Leidensis BPG 67 L (17th century).[11]

Even if the volume mixes the different types of letters within the three books, Bergler is fully aware of their thematic division. In his preface, he distinguishes four types of letters, *piscatoriae*, *rusticae*, *parasiticae* and *amatoriae*. Bergler's last category is thus larger than the title which prevailed afterwards,

9 This is what he explains in the preface of his edition: "*Primus mecum communicavit Cl. Kusterus priores VIII ex apographo Bigotii*". He then specifies: "*Octo ista sunt in Bigotiano et Lambeciano nec non in Vaticano*".

10 See Schepers [1905], IV n. 1 and XI.

11 On this manuscript, see Schepers [1901], XXXI–XXXVI and Schepers [1905], XIII–XVI.

namely "letters of courtesans". Moreover, Bergler stresses that some of the letters come within two categories.

Bergler's edition was republished, without the commentary, by B. Wild and J. Altheer in Utrecht in 1791. The editions of the 18th and 19th centuries follow exactly the division into three books adopted by Bergler.

Published by Müller in Leipzig in 1798, Johann August Wagner brings out a new edition of Alciphron's *Letters* in two volumes, using a larger manuscript basis. The edited text, however, remains very close to Bergler's.[12] It is accompanied by critical notes and followed by a Latin translation. Wagner maintains Bergler's division into three books and, at the end of his edition, adds a chapter entitled *Alciphronis Rhetoris Epistolae duae ineditae et fragmenta*. The corpus of Alciphrons' *Letters* is thus augmented by 2 letters (numbered A and B) and 20 fragments, found in different manuscripts. In reality, letter A belongs to the corpus of Crates' *Letters* (*Epist.* 9), but in several manuscripts of Alciphron it is inserted between letter 1.22 and letter 3.36 (Schepers). Letter B of Wagner today carries number 2.29 (Schepers). Fragment I is actually the very beginning of Crates' *Letter* 10. Fragment II corresponds to letter 3.41 (Schepers), fragment III to letter 4.1, fragment IV to letter 4.12, while fragment V is presented by Schepers in the appendix to his edition. Fragments VI to XX correspond to letter 4.13.

In 1853 two new editions of Alciphron's *Letters* appeared. Ernst Eduard Seiler's edition was published in Leipzig by Hinrichs. Seiler gathers together the results of his predecessors. The Greek text comes with a Latin translation, critical annotations (including Bergler and Wagner's notes) and large indices. Seiler uses a substantial number of manuscripts and he is the first to provide a critical apparatus. Although fully aware of the four types of letters, which he describes as *piscatoriae*, *rusticae*, *parasiticae*, *amatoriae sive meretriciae*,[13] he adopts Bergler's division into three books and his numbering. However, he adds 2 letters and 6 fragments to book III: letter 73, which is Wagner's letter B (Schepers 2.29); letter 74, which had been separately edited by Bast (Schepers 3.42); fragment 1 (= Wagner fr. 1); fragment 2 (= Wagner fr. 2 and Schepers 3.41); fragment 3 (= Wagner fr. 3 and Schepers 4.1); fragment 4 (= Wagner fr. 4 and Schepers 4.12); fragment 5 (= Wagner fr. 5, and the appendix letter in Schepers) and fragment 6 (which includes Wagner frs. 6 to 19 and corresponds to Schepers 4.13). Crates' letter (Wagner letter A) is to be found in the appendix. Seiler, therefore, is the first to edit the entire corpus of Alciphron's *Letters* as we know it: 123 letters and fragments. The volume was republished in 1856. August Meineke's

12 See Schepers' judgment in his edition of 1905, p. V.
13 See Seiler [1853], XIII–XVII.

edition, also published in Leipzig in 1853 by Teubner, uses Seiler's results concerning the manuscript tradition and adds numerous conjectures and some critical notes. As for the organisation of the letters, Meineke's edition does not introduce any novelties. The same applies to Rudolf Hercher's edition of Alciphron's *Letters* in his volume dedicated to the *Epistolographi graeci*, published in Paris by Didot in 1873.

1.3 *The Organisation of the Letter Collection in Four Books: Schepers' Works (1901 and 1905)*

It is to Mennio Antonius Schepers that we owe the first edition of Alciphron's *Letters* organised in four books, according to the thematic content of the letters. Schepers first published his PhD thesis in Groningen with J.B. Wolters in 1901 under the title: *Alciphronis rhetoris epistularum libri IV*; the work comprises a preface of 43 pages, followed by the edition of the Greek text with a critical apparatus.

Schepers then republished his results under the same title in Leipzig by Teubner in 1905. There are a few differences between the two editions in terms of the organisation of the letters. More specifically, these concern the position attributed to the fragments within the volume. In the edition of 1901, there were 22 letters of fishermen in book 1, 39 letters of farmers in book 2, 41 letters of parasites in book 3 and 16 letters of courtesans in book 4. Adhering to these four books, Schepers added the 6 fragments of Seiler, but in a slightly different order (he inverted the order of fragments 5 and 6). The edition of 1905 also comprises 22 letters of fishermen (book 1), and 39 letters of farmers (book 2) but it integrates some of the fragments into the books themselves: book 3 now contains 42 letters of parasites (fragment 2 of Seiler bears the number 41) and book 4 contains 19 letters (Seiler's fragment 3 bears the number 1, fragment 4 the number 12, fragment 6 the number 13). Lastly, Schepers added an appendix entitled *Fragm. incerti scriptoris*, which corresponds to Seiler's fragment 5, while he suppressed fragment 1 (which is in fact the first sentence of Crates' *Epist.* 1).[14] Eventually, he edited a corpus of 122 letters + 1 uncertain fragment.

For the edition of 1905, Schepers made a fresh collation of some of the known manuscripts. He went to Paris to inspect the Parisini gr. 1696, 2720, 3021, 3050 and 3054 and the Parisini Suppl. gr. 212, 205 and 352; to Vienna for the Vindobonenses Phil. gr. 318 and 342; and to Italy for the Vaticani gr. 140 and 1461, the Laurentianus Plut. 59.5, the Marcianus gr. VIII. 2, and the Neapolitanus III AA 14. Schepers also had at his disposal precise descriptions of the Leidensis BPG 67 L

14 See Schepers [1905], IX.

and of the Londiniensis Harleianus 5566. The Teubner edition of 1905 is the reference work for Alciphron; all later editions and translations of the text are based on it (and on the corrections made to it by Benner-Fobes).[15] Schepers' works, therefore, had a huge influence: they still inform our present reading of Alciphron's *Letters*.

Thus, this investigation of the printed tradition of Alciphron's *Letters* shows how all the editions until the 19th century were modelled on the *editio princeps*, the Aldine of 1499. They gradually grew in size through the accretion of new letters at the end of the previously known corpus, without undergoing a real restructuring, that is until Schepers' works. He brought about a huge change in the way of reading Alciphron's *Letters*. Instead of a collection of first two, then three books where all kinds of letters were mixed, one began to read these letters in four books, organised by the type of characters involved in the epistolary exchange. Whereas one could have had the impression that this letter collection had been aggregated progressively, in a random order, Schepers' editions and those of his followers invite us to consider its structure as a well-considered and meaningful construction: Alciphron's *Letters* are indeed a literary work, carefully composed.

Schepers' works are based on a close examination of the manuscripts. Yet, none of these manuscripts presents the structure in four books or the order of the letters that he adopted in his edition of 1905. Therefore, at this point of our analysis, we need to look at the manuscript transmission of Alciphron's *Letters* in order to understand the basis on which Schepers reorganised the corpus of letters, and to see if this gives us any clues as to their original arrangement.

2 The Order of the Letters in the Manuscripts

In which form(s) were Alciphron's *Letters* read in the manuscript tradition? Do these medieval manuscripts show traces of their original structure?

The aim and scope of this investigation are necessarily limited: I have no intention of starting afresh with the study of the whole manuscript tradition (and the collation of all witnesses). My aim instead is to collect the scattered clues that we can find concerning the original organisation of Alciphron's *Letters*. For this purpose, I will start by looking at Schepers' comprehensive study of the transmission and his stemma (as well as at the additional conclusions of

15 See in particular Benner and Fobes [1949]; Avezzu and Longo [1985]; Ruiz Garcia [1988]; Ozanam [1999]; Costa [2001]; Trapp [2003]; Conca and Zanetto [2005].

his successors) in order to highlight their implications for the structure of Alciphron's work, with a special view to the order of the letters within the books. Then I will try to ameliorate Schepers' stemma and go beyond his results concerning the arrangement of the books.

2.1 *The Manuscripts of Alciphron's Letters*

The Pinakes database, developed by the *Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes* (CNRS, Paris), gives 55 entries for Alciphron's *Letters*, corresponding to 51 manuscripts. To these manuscripts, one must also add the Laurentianus Plut. 55.2.[16] While this number is by far superior to that of the manuscripts used by Schepers, many of them are recent manuscripts from the 17th and 18th centuries. The most important manuscripts were already known to Schepers. I list on the facing page the manuscripts comprising a sufficient number of letters (so as to be helpful for my analysis) dating from before 1600, that is 23 manuscripts (see table 1.1).[17]

2.2 *Schepers' Stemma and the Organisation of the Corpus*

In the manuscript tradition, Schepers distinguishes different branches, with three main manuscript families and several independent manuscripts, as is best shown in fig. 1.1 (Schepers' stemma) on page 12.

2.2.1 Manuscript Families

Schepers distinguishes three main manuscript families.[18] The first family, named *x*, consists of two related manuscripts with a large selection of letters from book 3, 2 and 1: Harl. and Ven. In these two manuscripts, letters 3.8, 3.36, 3.40, 3.41, 2.1, 2.31–2.39, 1.14 are missing. Neap^{a} (the first part of the Neapolitanus III AA 14), which has the same but less complete content, and its apograph, the Parisinus gr. 2720, are close to *x*. The second family (x^1) has two main representatives, containing the whole of book 1, an important part of book 2 (except for letters 2.1, 2.29, 2.31–2.39) and most of book 3 (except for 3.40): Γ and Vat. 1 (which breaks off after letter 3.19). The Vaticanus Urbinas gr. 110 is an apograph of Γ. According to Schepers, the second part of the Neapolitanus III AA 14 (Neap^{b}) belongs to the same branch of the tradition. The third family (x^2) comprises manuscripts containing most of book 1 (except for letter 1.12), a selection of letters from book 3 and book 2, and the whole of book 4. The most important

16 See Granholm [2012], 23.

17 The sigla are those used by Schepers in his edition of 1905. The dating and content of the manuscripts are those indicated by the most recent catalogues (with a few corrections). The asterisk (*) indicates that the beginning or the end of a letter is missing.

18 See Schepers [1905], XX sq.

TABLE 1.1 Manuscripts of Alciphron's Letters

Siglum	Manuscript	Date	Content
B	Vindobonensis Phil. gr. 342	11	2.1–2.4, 2.6–2.15, 2.17–2.27, 2.16, 2.28–2.39
N	Parisinus Suppl. gr. 352	13	1.1–1.22; 3.1–3.4, 3.5*
Γ	Parisinus gr. 1696	13–14	1.1–1.22; 2.2–2.15, 2.17–2.27, 2.16, 2.28, 2.30; 3.1–3.39, 3.41–3.42
Harl.	Londiniensis Harleianus 5566	14	3.1–3.7, 3.9–3.18, 3.20–3.27, 3.33, 3.28–3.32, 3.34–3.35, 3.37–3.39, 3.42, 3.19; 2.2–2.15, 2.17–2.27, 2.16, 2.28–2.30; 1.1–1.13, 1.15–1.22
Neap[a]	Neapolitanus III AA 14	14	3.1, 3.17, 3.2–3.4, 3.6–3.7, 3.9–3.13, 3.16, 3.18, 3.19.
Neap[b]			(different hand)1.1–1.12
Vat. 1	Vaticanus gr. 140	14	1.1–1.22; 2.2–2.15, 2.17–27, 2.16, 2.28, 2.30; 3.1–3.19
	Vaticanus Urbinas gr. 110	14–15	same content as the Paris. gr. 1696
	Chicagensis Newberrianus 103 (*olim* Ry. 9)	15	1.1–1.10, 1.14–1.22; 3.37–3.40; 2.3–2.7; 4.2–4.11, 4.14–4.19
	Laurentianus Plut. 55.2	15	4.18, 4.2–4.7
Flor.	Laurentianus Plut. 59.5	15	1.1–1.11*, *1.13, 1.14–1.22; *3.36, 3.37–3.41; *2.2, 2.3–2.7, 2.8*; 4.1–4.19, fr. 5
Ven.	Marcianus gr. VIII. 2 (coll. 1388)	15 (ca. 1460)	3.1–3.7, 3.9–3.18, 3.20–3.27, 3.33, 3.28–3.32, 3.34–3.35, 3.37–3.39, 3.42, 3.19; 2.2–2.15, 2.17–2.27, 2.16, 2.28–2.30; 1.1–1.13, 1.15–1.22
	Oxoniensis d'Orvillianus 112	15	1.1–1.11*, *1.13, 1.14–1.22; [?] 3.37–3.41; [?] 2.3–2.7, 2.8*; [?] 4.2–4.11, 4.12–4.13, fr. 5 (I have not seen the manuscript yet, and the description of the catalogue is not entirely satisfactory)
	Palatinus Heidelbergensis gr. 132	15	1.1–1.10, 1.14–1.22; 3.37–3.40; 2.3–2.7; 4.2–4.11, 4.14–4.19
	Parisinus gr. 2720	15	3.1, 3.17, 3.2–3.4, 3.6–3.7, 3.9, 3.11–3.13, 3.16, 3.18
	Parisinus gr. 2832	15	4.18–4.19, 4.2
Π	Parisinus gr. 3021	15	1.1–1.11*, *1.13, 1.14–1.22; *3.36, 3.37–3.41; *2.2, 2.3–2.7, 2.8*; 4.1–4.19, fr. 5
Δ	Parisinus gr. 3050	15	1.1–1.10, 1.14–1.22; 3.37–3.40; 2.3–2.7; 4.2–4.11, 4.14–4.19; 1.11*, *1.13; *3.36, 3.41; *2.2, 2.8*; 4.1, 4.12–4.13, fr. 5
Φ	Parisinus gr. 3054	15	4.18–4.19, 4.2
Vat. 2	Vaticanus gr. 1461	15	1.1–1.11*, *1.13, 1.14–1.22; *3.36, 3.37–3.41; *2.2, 2.3–2.7, 2.8*; 4.1–4.19, fr. 5
	Parisinus Suppl. gr. 205	15–16	1.1–1.10, 1.14–1.22; 3.37–3.40; 2.3–2.7; 4.2–4.11, 4.14–4.19
	Parisinus Suppl. gr. 212	15–16	1.1–1.10, 1.14–1.22; 3.37–3.40; 2.3–2.7; 4.2–4.11, 4.14–4.15
	Vindobonensis Phil. gr. 318	15–16 (ca. 1500)	1.1–1.10, 1.14–1.22; 3.37–3.40; 2.3–2.7; 4.2–4.10, 4.14, 4.15, 4.11
	Palatinus Heidelbergensis gr. 155	16	The model of this ms is the Paris. suppl. gr. 352

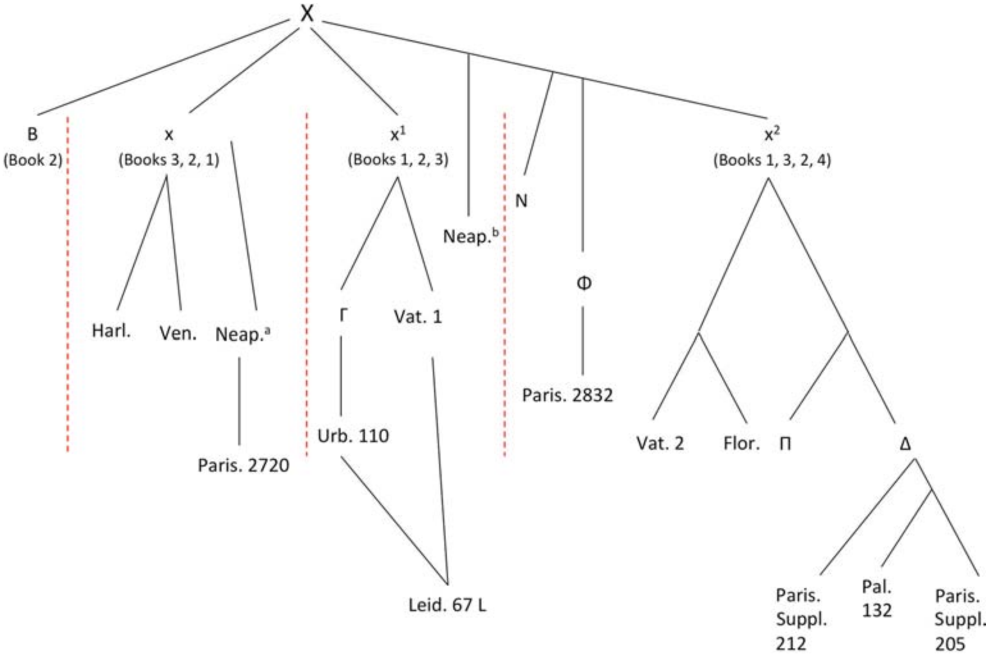

FIGURE 1.1 Schepers' stemma

manuscripts are Vat. 2, Flor., Π and Δ (the order of the letters is disrupted in the latter manuscript). The Oxoniensis d'Orvillianus 112 also belongs to this family.

Schepers' results for the third family are developed by Granholm[19] in his edition of the letters of courtesans: The Parisini gr. 2832 and 3054 (Φ) derive from the Laurentianus Plut. 59.5 (Flor.), while the Laurentianus Plut. 55.2, the Parisini Suppl. gr. 205 and 212, the Palatinus Heidelbergensis gr. 132, the Chicagensis Newberrianus 103 (*olim* Ry. 9) and the Vindobonensis Phil. gr. 318 derive from the Parisinus gr. 3050 (Δ).[20]

2.2.2 The Arrangement of the Letters in the Manuscript Families

In which order do the letters appear, for each book, in the manuscript tradition? For book 1, *x* has letters 1.1–1.13, 1.15–1.22, x^1 letters 1.1–1.22 and x^2 letters 1.1–1.11*, *1.13–1.22: the order adopted by Schepers is attested in all three manuscript families. Book 2 is organised as follows in *x*: 2.2–2.15, 2.17–2.27, 2.16, 2.28–2.30. x^1 has the same order, except that it does not contain letter 2.29.

19 See Granholm [2012], 33–53.

20 See Granholm's stemma, which slightly modifies Schepers'. See also Sicherl [1997], 198–201.

x^2 only has letters *2.2, 2.3–2.7, 2.8*, even in the most complete manuscripts. To these three families, one can add the Vindobonensis Phil. gr. 342, the most ancient manuscript for Alciphron's *Letters*, containing: 2.1–2.4, 2.6–2.15, 2.17–2.27, 2.16, 2.28–2.39. The archetype which we can reconstruct must have had letters 2.1–2.15, 2.17–2.27, 2.16, 2.28–2.39. As we can see, in this case Schepers did not exactly follow the order suggested by the manuscripts. He decided to move letter 2.16 and to align it with letter 2.15. Letter 2.16 is indeed Pithacnion's answer to Eustachys, who, in letter 2.15, had invited him to take part in a banquet for his son's birthday. Schepers' choice here is motivated by literary considerations; it is not based on the manuscript transmission. As for book 3, it is arranged in x as follows: 3.1–3.7, 3.9–3.18, 3.20–3.27, 3.33, 3.28–3.32, 3.34–3.35, 3.37–3.39, 3.42, 3.19. The most complete manuscript of x^1 has letters 3.1–3.39, 3.41–3.42 and x^2 only transmits, at best, letters *3.36, 3.37–3.41. For this book, Schepers in his edition followed the order of the letters in the family x^1, adding the one letter missing according to the family x^2. Could the order of the letters in the family x be of an earlier date and more legitimate? The difference lies principally in the position of letter 33 (brought together with 3.27, which has the same topic) and of 3.19 (which has close links to Lucian of Samosata's *Symposium or the Lapiths*). Lastly, since book 4 is preserved only in x^2, Schepers adopted the order of the main manuscripts of this family: 4.1–4.19, fr. 5. The order of the letters in a given book is thus relatively stable from one family to the other with only few exceptions. This validates the text edited by Schepers and the more recent editions and translations which follow it.

2.2.3 The Arrangement of the Books

What information does the manuscript tradition provide concerning the organisation of the different books in Alciphron's *Letters*? With the notable exceptions of the Vindobonensis Phil. gr. 342 (the oldest manuscript, containing only book 2) and a few manuscripts *recentiores*, which only comprise a few letters of book 4,[21] most of Alciphron's manuscripts have letters coming from at least two or three of the different books. This leads one to suppose that Alciphron's *Letters* were regarded as a single literary work—at least during the Byzantine period. The letters of the different books were considered as parts of a set and therefore they did not circulate very much independently. If these letters form a whole, the order in which one reads each book, however, does

21 For Granholm [2012], 39–41, 52 and 53 (stemma), these manuscripts (Parisini gr. 2832 and 3054, and Laurentianus Plut. 55.2) derive from more complete models of the family x^2.

not seem to be essential. In fact, the order of the books varies greatly from one manuscript to the other. Each family gives a different combination: *x* presents the books in the order 3, 2, 1, x^1 gives 1, 2, 3 and x^2 1, 3, 2, 4. The order adopted by Schepers in his edition is not dictated by the manuscript tradition: he explains that he simply followed the same four classes in the same order given by the philologist Franz Passow.[22]

2.3 *Beyond Schepers' Results: New Stemma Hypotheses and Their Consequences*

It is possible, however, to use Schepers' own critical apparatus[23] and to combine it with new manuscript collations and other codicological data so as to improve his stemma. This does not impact much the order of the letters within the books, but it does contribute to a better understanding of the ordering of the books. In this way, it brings us one step further in the reconstruction of the original structure of Alciphron's *Letters*.

2.3.1 The Vindobonensis Phil. gr. 342 and the Family x^2

Let us first turn to the Vindobonensis Phil. gr. 342 (B). A short description of the manuscript will be helpful for the argumentation. B is a parchment manuscript with epistolary collections dating from the 11th century (ff. V+219; 150 × 115 mm);[24] it is the oldest manuscript of Alciphron's work. With the exception of letter 2.5, it contains all the farmers' letters (ff. 183^r–200^r) and it is the only manuscript which transmits letters 2.1 and 2.31–2.39. B exclusively comprises book 2: no text was lost at the beginning or at the end. Schepers, as well as Benner-Fobes and Granholm, consider B an independent manuscript.[25] The readings of B, though, following Schepers' critical apparatus, show its connection with x^2 (in letters 2.2–2.8, which they both contain). Indeed, B and x^2 share common errors (according to Schepers editorial choices, that is, according to what he considered to be the correct reading):

- 2.2 (l. 15) δὴ Γ, δὲ *x* Vat. 1 om. B x^2
- 2.2 (l. 3) ἑστάναι *x* x^1] εἶναι B x^2
- 2.3 (l. 6) δὲ om. B x^2
- 2.4 (l. 14) Εὐπέταλος *x* x^1] εὔταλος B x^2

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22 See Passow [1819], 145–146, and Seiler [1853], XIII–XVII.

23 In my references, I specify the numeration of the books, letters and the lines in Schepers' edition of 1905, but not the numeration of the paragraphs since it is not used in Schepers' critical apparatus.

24 For a description of the manuscript: Hunger [1961], 435–437.

25 See Schepers [1905], 20; Benner Fobes [1949], 18; Granholm [2012], 21.

- 2.4 (l. 15) ἀντάξιον *x* x^1] ἄξιον B x^2
- 2.5 (l. 13) γενναῖε *x* x^1] γύναι B Π Δ (γυναῖε Vat. 2, Flor.)
- 2.6 (l. 4) οὐκ ἔριφον νεογιλόν om. B x^2
- 2.7 (l. 14) ἐξαπίνης *x* x^1] ἐξαπίνεος B, ἐξαπιναῖος x^2
- 2.7 (l. 14) ἐπιστὰς *x* x^1] ἀναστὰς B x^2
- 2.7 (l. 15) τρικόρωνον *x* x^1] τρίκορον B x^2
- 2.7 (l. 6) Κέκροψ *x* x^1] κέρκοψ B x^2
- 2.7 (l. 7) μὴ ἐργασώμαι om. B x^2

They also share correct readings, as opposed to *x* and x^1:

- 2.2 (l. 3) ψευδῆ B x^2] ψευδέστατα *x* x^1
- 2.4 (l. 14) Ἐλατίωνι B x^2] Ἀλατίωνι x^1, Ἀλαχίωνι Harl., Ἀναχίωνι Ven.
- 2.4 (l. 10) ἐσχατιαῖς B x^2] ἐσχατιάς *x* x^1
- 2.5 (l. 14) γὰρ B x^2] δὲ *x* x^1
- 2.5 (l. 13) τὰς B x^2] om. *x* x^1
- 2.5 (l. 15) δαίμονες B x^2] om. *x* x^1
- 2.6 (l. 6) πάντα B x^2] om. *x* x^1
- 2.8 (l. 11) ἀπεχθομένη B x^2] ἀπεχθανομένη *x* x^1
- 2.8 (l. 5) ὡς ἔοικεν B x^2] om. *x* x^1
- 2.8 (l. 11) ῥύμμα B x^2] ῥύμα x^1, ῥῆμα *x*

Some errors of x^2, however, are not transmitted by B:

- 2.2 (l. 14) καὶ om. x^2
- 2.5 (l. 13) εἰσιν om. x^2

And B also contains readings which are absent from all the other manuscripts:

- 2.6 (l. 8) κατηνάγκασας B] ἐπηνάγκασας *x* x^1 x^2
- 2.8 (l. 12) Ναΐδας om. B
- 2.8 (l. 3) ἄλλα τινα *x* x^1 x^2] τὰ ἄλλα τῶν B
- 2.8 (l. 9) καὶ παιδέρωτι] om. B
- 2.8 (l. 11) ὑγιαίνης *x* x^1 x^2] ὑγιαίνοις B

Lastly, B does not have any errors in common with *x* and x^1, with x^2 having the correct reading.

Consequently, even if B transmits only book 2, it belongs to the same branch of the manuscript tradition as x^2. Therefore, either B extracted book 2 from a bigger ensemble, or x^2 put together books that were transmitted separately. As B has an overall title (ἐπιστολαὶ ἀλκίφρονος ῥήτορος), followed by a thematic subtitle (ἀγροικικαί), this points to the first explanation as the most likely. It follows that x^2 in its original form (or its model) contained the whole of book 2. As x^2 still transmits almost the whole of book 1 and is our only witness for book 4, this suggests that book 3 was also more complete and that x^2 suffered losses during the transmission. These elements lead to a modification of the weighing of the different manuscript families: they show the importance of x^2 whose model

comprised most, if not all, letters of Alciphron, and was copied no later than the 11th century (hence this branch of the manuscript transmission already existed in ancient times).

2.3.2 The Family x and the Parisinus Suppl. gr. 352

Further observations can be made to corroborate this conclusion. In the family *x*, the Marcianus gr. VIII. 2 (Ven.) is presented by Schepers as being related to the Londiniensis Harleianus 5566 (Harl.). I would like to put forward that it is more likely to be its apograph. The Harleianus 5566[26] is a paper manuscript of the 14th century, with I+248 folios, dimensions of 168×122 mm, and 21–25 lines per folio. It contains, among other texts, several letter collections. The same scribe copied letters of Phalaris, Alciphron (f. 141^r–167^v) and Brutus. The Marcianus gr. VIII. 2[27] is a paper manuscript (II+297 folios; 214×146 mm), copied ca. 1460. It contains, following texts of Lysias, Aeschines and Apollonios Dyscolos, letters of Phalaris, Alciphron (f. 246^v–282^r) and Brutus (all three letter collections written by the same copyist). The idea that Ven. is a copy of Harl. is not new. For the *Letters of Phalaris*, Tudeer,[28] in contrast to Schepers, presents it as a "natural supposition". In his critical edition of the *Letters of Brutus*, Torraca[29] is positive that "the Marcianus gr. VIII. 2 is a copy of the Harleianus 5566". Schepers[30] himself had contemplated this possibility, dismissing it, because of the following variant readings:

– 1.2 (l. 5) Δαναΐδων Ven., δανειστῶν Harl.
– 3.2 (l. 9) ἀποδόσεις Ven., ἀποδώσεις Harl.
– 3.5 (l. 1) ἠσθημένη Ven., ἠσθομένη Harl.
– 3.10 (l. 13) σινδόνης Ven., σινδόνες Harl.
– 3.16 (l. 11) μέλει οι Ven., μέλλει Harl.[31]
– 3.18 (l. 11) ἐκείνοις Ven., ἐκείνων Harl.

Although he does not say so explicitly, Schepers considers that, in these lemmas, Ven. offers better readings. He also believes that the scribe of Ven. could

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26 For a description of the manuscript, see the website of the British Library (http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_5566) as well as Nares [1808], 277.

27 Muratore [2002], 154–155.

28 Tudeer [1931], 96: "As far as I have been able to compare both manuscripts, nothing in the letters of Phalaris speaks directly against the Harleianus being the original".

29 Torraca [1959], XLIII.

30 Schepers [1905], XIX, n. 1.

31 Note that there is a discrepancy here: Schepers writes μέλει οι as the reading of Ven. in his introduction but μέλοι ει in his critical apparatus. Since I have not seen the manuscript myself, I do not know what the correct reading is.

not have been competent enough to have made these corrections himself. Schepers therefore concludes that Ven. could not have had Harl. as its model. However, as the copy of the rest of the letters is otherwise extremely close to Harl., Ven. only adding some errors—sometimes by trying to improve Harl.'s faulty text[32]—one could consider the possibility that, in the cases mentioned above, the scribe of Ven. is also trying to correct errors made by Harl.

Furthermore, Torraca also mentions that, for the letters of Brutus, Harl. is a copy of the Parisinus Suppl. gr. 352 (N). This paper manuscript dating from the 13th century has 182 folios, with several codicological units containing, among others, texts of Himerius, Aelian, John Geometres, and letters of Theophylact Simocatta, Philostratus, Brutus and Alciphron. The *Letters* of Alciphron are in the folios 148^r–149^v; the text breaks off abruptly at the end of f. 149^v, in the middle of letter 3.5. Obviously, N is mutilated (it only contains letters 1.1–1.22 and 3.1–3.5*), but could it have been the model of Harl., when it was more complete? The comparison[33] of the two manuscripts shows that they are indeed very close. They have many errors in common:

- 1.1 (l. 5) ὁ om. N Harl.
- 1.1 (l. 13) καταβαλόντες] καταβάλλοντες N Harl.
- 1.1 (l. 13) ἀργύριον] ἀργύρων N Harl.
- 1.2 (l. 3) μὲν om. N Harl.
- 1.2 (l. 5) τὸν—πίθον] τοὺς—πίθους N Harl.
- 1.2 (l. 4) θαλαττουργοῖς (ed.)] βαλαυστουργοῖς N Harl.
- 1.3 (l. 8) τὸ] τῷ N Harl.
- 1.4 (l. 6) δή] δέ N Harl.
- 1.6 (l. 11) μοι] σοι N Harl.
- 1.6 (l. 11) Δαμοφίλη] Δαμοφέλη N Harl.
- 1.8 (l. 13) ὁ λέμβος] ὁ λέμβων N Harl.
- 1.8 (l. 3) ὑπομένω] ὑπομένων N Harl.

32 See for example, 1.2 (l. 5) πίθον] πίθους Harl., ποίθους Ven.; 1.8 (l. 9) ἐξαγορεύω] ἐξαγορεύειν Harl., ἐξαγορεύῃν Ven.; 2.4 (l. 14) Ἐλατίωνι] Ἀλαχίωνι Harl., Ἀναχίωνι Ven.; 2.8 (l. 7) ταυταισὶ ταῖς] ταυτησὶ ταῖς Harl., ταυτησὶ τῆς Ven.; 2.29 ἐν περιουσίαις] περιουσία Harl., περιουσίους Ven.; 3.7 (l. 3) οἱ παράσιτοι] οἱ παράσιτοι Harl. (with an alternative reading from the same hand *super lineam*: ὁ above the article and ος at the end of the noun), οἱ παρασίτοι ος Ven.; 3.14 (l. 10) Λυσίας] Φαννίας Harl., Φανίας Ven.; 3.17 (l. 15) φίλῳ πανδοκεῖ] φίλῳ πανδοχεῖ Harl., Φίλοπανδοχεῖ Ven.; 3.28 (l. 4) ἐριστικὸς] ἐρωτητικὸς Harl., ἐρωτικὸς Ven.

33 A comparison of the two manuscripts is possible for letters 1.1–1.13, 1.15–1.22 and 3.1–3.5*. For these letters, I made my own collation of N. I have only given examples from letters 1.1–1.22, because the letters 3.1–3.5* were not transmitted in x^2. Without the comparison with x^2, the places where N and x^1 seem to share common errors, while x is giving the correct reading, may as well be interpreted as places where x corrected N.

- 1.9 (l. 8) κέρδει x^1 κερδαίνειν N Harl. κέρδει κερδαίνειν cet.
- 1.12 (l. 10) παραρρίψει σε] παραρρίψειε N Harl.
- 1.15 (l. 1) πικρὸς] μικρὸς N Harl.
- 1.16 (l. 7) μὲν τι] μέντοι N Harl.
- 1.16 (l. 8) μηδὲν] μηδὲ N Harl.
- 1.16 (l. 5) θαλαττουργὸς] θαυματουργὸς N Harl.
- 1.21 (l. 10) ναυαγὸν] ναυπηγὸν N Harl.

In some cases, Harl. just copies the alternative reading which N has in the margin:

- 1.5 (l. 16) ναυμαχίας] ναυαρχίας N *in marg.* Harl.
- 1.8 (l. 9) ἐξαγορεύω] ἐξαγορεύειν N *in marg.* Harl.

Or Harl. tries to correct errors from N:

- 1.1 (l. 3) τεκμήρασθαι] τεκμείρασθαι siv. τεκμαίρασθαι N, τεκμαίρεσθαι Harl.
- 1.2 (l. 11) κομιοῦντα] πονοῦντα N, πονοῦντι Harl.
- 1.2 (l. 14) ἐναβρυνομένης Harl. ἐν εὐρυνόμης (siv. ἐν εὐρυνομένης?) N
- 1.4 (l. 15) δημότικα] νηματικὰ N, δὴ μικρὰ Harl.
- 1.5 (l. 15) Δαρεικοῦ] Δαρικοῦ N, Δωρικοῦ Harl.
- 1.6 (l. 7) ἀπερριμένην] ἀποιρουμένην N, ἀπορουμένην Harl.
- 1.10 (l. 1) προμηθούμενοι] προμυθούμενοι N, προθυμούμενοι Harl.
- 1.12 (l. 6) κορικῶς Harl., κωρικῶς N, κωμικῶς cet.

Other cases, which at first sight seem problematic, are in reality omissions made by Schepers. Once corrected, these lemmas also speak in favour of the filiation N—Harl.:

- 1.6 (l. 11) καὶ om. N Harl. (Harl. also has the omission)
- 1.9 (l. 13) Μανδροβόλου] Μανδραβόλου N Harl.Ven. (Harl. also has an α instead of the ο)
- 1.9 (l. 3) φερνίων N Harl. as well as Neap.[b] Ven and x^2] φερνίκων x^1 (N also has φερνίων)
- 1.11 (l. 13) τὰς χάριτας] αὐτὰς N Harl. (Harl. also has αὐτὰς)
- 1.13 (l. 11) post ὥραν add. ἡμέραν N (Harl. also has the addition)
- 1.13 (l. 19) ὡς N (and not ὥσας: aspiration mistaken for an abbreviation)
- 1.15 (l. 12) N has αὐτῷ and not τῷ (αυ is there but difficult to read)
- 1.15 (l. 12) μουσουργοὶ πᾶσαι N *x* Flor., ord. inv. cet. (N has the same wording as *x*)
- 1.16 (l. 8) ἔκπυστα N (and not ἔκπτυστα) as in all manuscripts
- 1.16 (l. 9) εἶ is present in N (and not omitted as mentioned by Schepers)
- 1.17 (l. 10) ἀποσχισθέν x^2, ὑποσχισθέν cet. (N also has ὑποσχισθέν)
- 1.17 (l. 11) ἀποκέοιτο Γ N Harl., ἀπέκειτο cet. (Harl. also has ἀποκέοιτο)
- 1.20 (l. 15) ὁ om. N *x* x^1 (N also has the omission)
- 1.20 (l. 6) πλησιόν N (and not πλησίων: misreading of the abbreviation)

– 1.21 (l. 9) ἀπαγγέλλων N (and not ἐπαγγέλων) as in all manuscripts
– 1.22 (l. 6) τὸ] om. *x* N x^1 (N also has the omission)

There are only three instances where N has an error which does not occur in Harl. (and where Harl. has the correct reading given by all the other manuscripts):

– 1.5 (l. 2) τὸ om. N (= haplography)
– 1.17 (l. 16) ἐπιχειρήσαντος] ἐπιχειρήματος N
– 1.21 (l. 10) μή σε] μή τε N

In these three cases, Harl. simply conjectured the correct reading. Therefore, since Harl. has a text very similar to that of N with more errors and some corrections, one can confidently conclude that it is its apograph: N was used as a model for Harl. before being mutilated.

This conclusion has consequences for the general structure of Alciphron's *Letters*. If Harl. is a copy of N (and Ven. a copy of Harl.), the books' order given by *x* (books 3, 2, 1) is not the original order. It is a rearrangement made by Harl. of a prior order, which can be found in two manuscripts only, namely Harl. and its apograph Ven. As far as one can judge, given the mutilated state of the manuscript (consisting of book 1 and the beginning of book 3), the Parisinus Suppl. gr. 352 follows the books' order of the family x^2. Since Harl. transmits the three books almost entirely (albeit in a different order), it is likely that its model, N, did the same and that N originally comprised the almost complete books 1, 3 and 2. Did N also contain book 4? The fact that its apograph Harl. does not include it may well be a sign that it was also absent from N.

2.3.3 Recapitulation

How does the improvement of Schepers's stemma give us clues concerning the original structure of Alciphron's *Letters*? The Vindobonensis Phil. gr. 342 (B), our earliest manuscript (11th cent.), which only contains book 2, is not independent but belongs to the same branch as x^2, implying that this branch originally contained the whole of book 2 and that losses occurred in the transmission. Also, as the overall title and thematic subtitle in B suggest, B is a selection from a more complete work. The archetype of the branch therefore probably contained several books. Furthermore, if one accepts the filiation N—Harl.—Ven., the importance of the family *x* for the reconstruction of the original structure of Alciphron's work diminishes considerably. We find the succession book 3 + book 2 + book 1 only in Harl. and its apograph, so that Harl. is responsible for changing the original order found in N. The changes in the ordering of the letters in book 3 may also have been made by Harl. rather than by N. Therefore, the organisation of the letters in each book is very stable and there are only

two options for the original structure of Alciphron's *Letters* according to the manuscript tradition: books 1, 2, 3 (if one follows x^1) or books 1, 3, 2+4 (if one follows x^2).

It is possible to go further and to venture a new hypothesis. As its copy (the Harleianus 5566) suggests, before its mutilation the Parisinus Suppl. gr. 352 was a highly complete manuscript of Alciphron's *Letters* (with three almost complete books). Moreover, because of its structure (book 1 followed by book 3), N is related to the family x^2. In addition, we have seen that the Vindobonensis phil. gr. 342 (transmitting more letters for book 2 than any other manuscript) also belongs to the same branch as x^2. This leads us to believe that the archetype of the different manuscript families contained the first three books of Alciphron's work in a highly complete form, perhaps even including the fourth book (unless we consider that book 4 is a later addition made by x^2). Given that B and N are also the oldest manuscripts transmitting Alciphron's *Letters*, it is tempting to think that the way in which the books are ordered in x^2 (books 1, 3, 2, 4) precedes the presentation of the work in x^1 (books 1, 2, 3). One could object that each of these two options only reflects a Byzantine state of Alciphron's work, but the errors shared by all manuscripts show that the tradition is rather homogeneous, which points towards a unique archetype for the whole manuscript tradition (x by Schepers). As the errors made in the different branches are not due to misreading uncial script, there may well have been only one exemplar of transliteration, from uncial into minuscule script. The whole manuscript tradition of Alciphron's *Letters* would then have its origin in a single manuscript in uncial script, which could date back to Late Antiquity.

2.3.4 Overall Title and Titles of the Books

One final question still needs to be addressed: what about the titles of the four books of Alciphron's *Letters*? Do these titles appear in the manuscript tradition? And, above all, can they throw new light on the organisation of the original corpus?

In B, the title of Alciphron's *Letters* is ἐπιστολαὶ ἀλκίφρονος ῥήτορος :- | ἀγροικικαί. In N, the letters open with the title ἀλκίφρονος ῥήτορος ἐπιστολαὶ ἁλιευτικαί. The first book ends with the mention τέλος τῶν ἀλκίφρονος ἐπιστολῶν ἁλιευτικῶν and book 3 is introduced by ἀλκίφρονος ῥήτορος ἐπιστολαὶ παρασίτων. The manuscript is then mutilated, but the family *x*, which derives from N, can be used to confirm this division and to give the title of the last book: the letters open with the title ἀλκίφρονος ῥήτορος ἐπιστολαὶ παρασίτων (numbered from α' to λη'), followed by the title ἀλκίφρονος ῥήτορος ἐπιστολαὶ ἀγροικικαί (numbered from α' to κθ') and the title ἀλκίφρονος ῥήτορος ἐπιστολαὶ ἁλιευτικαί (numbered

from λ' to ν').[34] The letters end with the mention τέλος τῶν ἀλκίφρονος ἐπιστολῶν. In the family x^1, the titles are: ἀλκίφρονος ῥήτορος ἐπιστολαὶ ἀγροικικαί (error by the scribe for ἁλιευτικαί), τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολαὶ ἀγροικικαί and τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολαὶ παρασιτικαί.[35] In the family x^2, things are more problematic. The letters begin with the title ἀλκίφρονος ῥήτορος ἐπιστολαὶ ἁλιευτικαί. At the end of book 1, we sometimes find the mention τέλος.[36] Following the insertion of one or two letters of Crates, Alciphron's *Letters* start again (with some losses, a sign that the archetype was damaged), but without title indications for books 3, 2 and 4. After letter 4.15, one sometimes finds the mention τέλος τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου[37] and above all the indications ἀρχὴ τοῦ δευτέρου βιβλίου,[38] ἀρχὴ τοῦ δευτέρου τμήματος[39] or more often, ἀρχὴ τοῦ δευτέρου.[40]

What conclusions can we draw from these observations? The thematic organisation of the letters in the manuscripts is underscored by the titles. Except for the hesitation between the noun παρασίτων and the adjective παρασιτικαί in book 3, the titles are stable. The absence of a title for book 4, nevertheless, should be noted: the title appears only with the Leidensis BPG 67 L (dating back to the 17th century). Furthermore, in the manuscripts containing book 4 (and only in these), there is an indication of a second book, or a second part. Does this relate to the whole of Alciphron's letters, or only to the letters of courtesans? The fact that it is only mentioned in the manuscripts containing book 4 suggests that the division applies exclusively to the letters of courtesans.

Lastly, we have seen that most of the manuscripts of Alciphron's *Letters* contain letters from at least three books: this would suggest that these letters were considered as a single body. Yet, most of the manuscripts do not have an overall title but only thematic titles, disclosing the social environment in which the letters were supposedly written. Did Alciphron, therefore, write four distinct works (one of which was organised in two parts or two books)? Several things speak against this hypothesis: the Vindobonensis Phil. gr. 342, the old-

34 These are the titles given by the Harleianus 5566 and the Marcianus gr. VIII 2. The Neapolitanus III AA 14 (in its first part) and the Parisinus gr. 2720 enable the confirmation of the title of book 3.

35 See the manuscripts Parisinus gr. 1696, Vaticanus Urbinas gr. 110 and Vaticanus gr. 140. These three manuscripts contain the same error concerning the title of book 1, which confirms that this manuscript family goes back to a common model which already had the error.

36 See Laurentianus Plut. 59.5 and Parisinus gr. 3021.

37 See Vaticanus gr. 1461 and Laurentianus Plut. 59.5.

38 See Vaticanus gr. 1461 and Laurentianus Plut. 59.5.

39 See Palatinus Heidelbergensis gr. 132.

40 See Parisini gr. 3021 and 3050.

est surviving manuscript of Alciphron's *Letters*, has an overall title (ἐπιστολαὶ ἀλκίφρονος ῥήτορος) and a thematic subtitle (ἀγροικικαί); in the family *x*, there is no overall title at the beginning, but the letters end with the mention τέλος τῶν ἀλκίφρονος ἐπιστολῶν; in the second part of the Neapolitanus III AA 14 (Neap.[b], which in Schepers' stemma belongs to the family x^1), the letters have the title ἀλκίφρονος ῥήτορος ἐπιστολαί.[41] Because these manuscripts show traces of an overall title, it is likely that the archetype of the manuscript tradition had such a title. In addition to the hypothesis of a unique work and the hypothesis of four distinct works, there is also a third possibility. If one considers that the families *x* and x^1 did not *omit* one type of letter but that the family x^2 *added* an element to an originally coherent unit, one might assume that there was a first work including the letters of fishermen, farmers and parasites, and a second one consisting in the letters of courtesans. This hypothesis could explain the differences observed by scholars between the letters of courtesans and the other letters.[42] At the same time, however, this hypothesis obscures the parallels between some love letters of the first three books and the topics dealt with in book 4.

3 Conclusion

The publication of Alciphron's *Letters* within the collection of Greek epistolographers edited by Marcus Musurus in the workshop of Aldus Manutius in 1499 played an important role in the rediscovery of this author. The Aldine was widely followed: all the complete or partial editions of the epistolographers of the 16th and 17th centuries[43] were based on it. For more than two centuries, Alciphron's *Letters* were read following the model of the Aldine and its organisation in two books. Stephan Bergler's edition of 1715 was the first to present these letters as an independent work. Bergler rediscovered many letters, absent from the Aldine, and organised them in a third book. In the three books of Bergler's edition, the different types of letters are then mixed. Because of the importance of Bergler's work, which was used by all his successors, the organisation of the corpus in three books was maintained for two centuries, even though scholars had long noted the existence of four types of letters. It is only with Schepers' two editions in 1901 and 1905 that Alciphron's *Letters* were finally

41 Neap.[b], however, only includes letters of book 1.
42 Granholm [2012], 19–20. See also Rosenmeyer [2001], 268–274.
43 See Sicherl [1997], 158.

published in accordance with these four types: letters of fishermen, farmers, parasites and courtesans. This division still prevails today: all recent editions are based on Schepers' results.

Even if no manuscript contains the whole of Alciphron's *Letters* as presented by Schepers, a close look at the manuscript tradition confirms the merits of his editorial choices: the manuscripts group the letters by type; the comparison of the different manuscript families shows that the order of the letters within the same book is relatively stable; by contrast, the order of the books varies. Nevertheless, it is possible to go beyond these first results. The arguments developed in the last part of this article lead to the following conclusions:

- We may assume that the work of Alciphron was one literary work, transmitted as a letter collection with four books.[44] The archetype of the manuscript tradition to which we can go back probably comprised an overall title; it undoubtedly had thematic subtitles.
- In this archetype, the order of the books was either 1, 2, 3 (+4?) or 1, 3, 2 + 4.
- The arrangement of the letters which we can reconstruct is 1–22 for book 1, 1–15, 17–27, 16, 28–39 for book 2, 1–42 for book 3, and 1–19 (+ fragment 5) for book 4.

How to make progress on the question of the original organisation of Alciphron's *Letters*? First of all, Schepers' results should not be taken for granted. I have shown that his stemma can be further improved. A new critical edition of Alciphron's *Letters* would be useful, and a more detailed study of the manuscript tradition based on new collations could yield further conclusions. Secondly, after the study of the 'external' data relating to the transmission of the corpus, an analysis of the content of the letters is important: what connects the letters with each other (exchange of letters, common topics, etc.)? Are there links from one book to another (characters, or types of characters appearing in another book than the one which is dedicated to them)? Does an underlying architecture appear? This literary data will furnish a necessary complement to the study of the manuscript tradition, whose fragmentary nature can only lead to partial conclusions.

44 A scenario with two collections, one gathering the letters of fishermen, farmers and parasites, the other the letters of courtesans, is, however, not impossible.

CHAPTER 2

Order and Disorder in the *Letters* of Alciphron

A.D. Morrison

In his seminal 2012 article for the *Journal of Roman Studies* on the nature of ancient letter collections, Roy Gibson drew attention to the fact that readers of modern editions of collections of ancient letters frequently do not realise the extent to which the order and arrangement of those modern editions is the creation of their (modern) editors.[1] However, how the letters in a collection were ordered and read in antiquity is clearly of great critical significance: there are (for example) similar opportunities in a letter collection for significant juxtaposition, artful arrangement and meaningful ordering to those in an ancient poetry-book (the study of the importance of which for Hellenistic and Latin poetry has flourished over the last thirty years),[2] as underlined by those verse letter collections which are also carefully designed poetry-books (e.g. Horace's *Epistles*).[3] The *Letters* of Alciphron provide an excellent opportunity for examining in a Greek collection some of the same questions Gibson tackled for Latin collections, and, in doing so, begin to establish the principles of arrangement which can be discerned in Greek collections. Such an examination of how ancient letter collections were ordered and read is important: in terms of their total output the letter collections of Greco-Roman antiquity dwarf that of ancient drama and epic combined, but their main patterns of organisation are as yet little understood. Focusing attention on how a letter collection was arranged in its manuscript form will allow the recovery (and

1 Gibson [2012: 56]. See also Beard [2002] on the re-arrangement and re-ordering along chronological lines of editions of Cicero's letters.

2 Cf. e.g. the *Arethusa* volume dedicated to examining esp. the Latin poetry-book (13.1, 1980), including such key articles as Van Sickle [1980] and Zetzel [1980] (the latter on Horace's *Sermones* 1). The structure and inter-connections of various Callimachean poetry-books are examined (for example) in Kerkhecker [1999] (the *Iambi*) and recently Stephens [2015: 12–14] (the *Hymns*), while Gutzwiller [2005] collects papers on the recently discovered epigrams of Poseidippus from the perspective of their forming a poetry-book.

3 On the different kinds of structure and order to be found in Horace's Epistles see, e.g., McGann [1969: 92–94], Thomas [1981: 49–53], De Pretis [2002: 141–144], Morrison [2007: 125–129]. Ovid's Heroides are a related but more complex example since its division into books is a matter of ongoing debate (see Fulkerson [2005: 21–22]).

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critical assessment) of distinctively ancient reading practices with regard to letter collections.

Alciphron is a particularly good test-case in this regard because the textual transmission of the *Letters* (as we shall see) is very tangled and (therefore) the standard modern order and arrangement into four books is to a large degree the creation of modern editors.[4] The first step in the investigation of the order and arrangement of any ancient letter collection must be the establishment of the key facts about that collection: authorship, date, number of letters and so forth and especially the main patterns of arrangement discernible in the manuscripts. In this article I will provide a preliminary description of the *Letters* of Alciphron from that perspective: it will form part of a four-year project, funded by the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council, based at the University of Manchester, which I am co-directing with Roy Gibson. The project aims (amongst other things) to produce such a description for each surviving ancient letter collection in Greek or Latin up to around A.D. 400.[5] This will form the basis for a critical investigation into the principles of arrangement which we can discern within ancient letter collections and the interpretative significance of these different orders and patterns. The benefits of the broader investigation will be to establish the study of ancient letter collections as a discrete and unified field, and to reveal how these collections were ordered, re-ordered and read. For critics and readers of particular collections, as I hope will also become clear through examining the *Letters* of Alciphron, there will also be considerable gains: we shall see that there is much to be learnt about Alciphron's letters themselves from an examination of their manuscript orders, and we shall see that some of the *aporia* found in Alciphron scholarship about the arrangement of the letters is misguided. More can be determined about the ordering of the letters (especially within the different books) than is sometimes assumed, with significant consequences for the interpretation of the letters.

4 For the development of modern editions of Alciphron's *Letters* see Marquis in this volume.

5 The Ancient Letter Collections Project is running from December 2016 to December 2021. It aims to establish the number of surviving letter collections in Greek and Latin (whether prose or verse), and their conventions of manuscript arrangement in order to establish ancient letter collections as a distinctive field of study, and to make it possible properly to examine how ancient letter collections were ordered and read. The main publications arising from the project will be a critical review in book form of individual ancient letter collections and an interpretative synoptic monograph on ancient letter collections. Along with the co-directors of the project, the research will be carried out and published by Dr Antonia Sarri as the project's Research Associate. See further https://clahresearch.wordpress.com/.

1 Alciphron and the Collection

Although unknown outside the *Letters*, 'the' Alciphron to whom the *Letters* are attributed in the MSS is usually dated between about A.D. 170 and A.D. 220.[6] Modern editions of the letters include a total of 123 (five to some degree fragmentary, whence presumably Klauck's total of 118),[7] grouped in modern editions into four books in this order: the letters of fishermen (book 1, 22 letters), farmers (2, 39 letters), parasites (3, 42 letters, one fragmentary) and courtesans (*hetairai*, book 4, 19 letters, at least one fragmentary; editors normally also include a further fragment, frag. 5).[8] Most, but not quite all, of the correspondents (i.e. senders and addressees) in each of these books falls into the relevant category—there are one or two correspondents outside the given categories in some of the books (as we shall see). The letters, particularly in the first three books, describe the hopes and document the laments of their correspondents particularly with regard to their lack of prosperity and the difficulties of their occupation. Jason König aptly describes their content and atmosphere: "Two themes (as far as they can be separated) are particularly prominent: precarious or failed aspiration to material gain, love, or physical comfort; and precarious or failed aspiration to social advancement or role-swapping".[9] Alciphron's correspondents mostly inhabit a world of hopes or ambitions cruelly dashed—a good example is the second letter of book 2 (the farmers' letters), in which a farmer laments waking up from a pleasant dream he was enjoying, in which he imagines himself as someone λαμπρός and βαθύπλουτος ("magnificent" and "very rich") with soft fingers wearing rings and jewels, attended to by flatterers (κόλακες) and parasites. But he is woken by the cock crowing and the letter ends with his recognition that τὰ ἐνύπνια ψευδέστατα ("my dreams were completely false", 2.2.3). We shall return to this letter again later—it is a neat encapsulation of the combination of hope and its denial which is typical of the wider collection.

The modern grouping into a unified collection of four books in the order in which we read them today (fishermen, farmers, parasites, courtesans) is the cumulative work of various editors, the most significant of whom from our perspective is Schepers. His 1905 Teubner is the definitive modern ordering of the

6 The usual assumption is that Alciphron was influenced by Lucian and in turn influenced Aelian, but the evidence is hardly conclusive: see further on Alciphron's date Anderson [1997: 2194–2199], Rosenmeyer [2001a: 256–257], Schmitz [2004: 87–88], Granholm [2012: 14–15].

7 Klauck [2006: 111].

8 Cf. e.g. Schepers [1905: 156], Benner–Fobes [1949: 340–341].

9 König [2007: 257].

letters, in contrast, for example, to earlier orders such as Hercher's in *Epistolographi Graeci* (1873), himself building on earlier editorial work (and ordering). In Hercher we find fewer than 123 letters, grouped not into our four books but into three very different ones mixing in two cases the letters of different types of character, thus splitting up the categories of addressee: Hercher's "Liber I" is made up of letters (in Schepers' now standard numbering) 1.1–10, 14–22; 3.27–40; 2.3–7; 4.2–11, 14–15; "Liber II" of 4.16–19; and "Liber III" of 1.11–13; 3.1–5; 2.1–2, 8–39; 3.6–36; 2.29; 3.42, 41; 4.1, 12; frag. 5; 4.13.[10] Mention should also be made of the important work of Benner and Fobes in their 1949 Loeb, based on Schepers, which gives useful and accurate accounts of the manuscripts of Alciphron and corrects Schepers in one or two places. Recently Patrik Granholm has edited Alciphron book 4 (2012), but also reviewed the manuscripts considered by Schepers,[11] again with some useful corrections. The picture, however, of order and arrangement in the Alciphron MSS has not changed substantially since Schepers. What remains true, however, is that the significance of the ordering and arrangement has not been systematically examined in order to see what it can tell us about Alciphron's letters, the principles of their arrangement into particular orders, and what this (in turn) can tell us about how they were read.

2 The MSS and their Groupings

Above I described the ordering of the *Letters* as 'modern' for the very good reason that the textual transmission of Alciphron's *Letters* is extremely complex:[12] no single MS preserves all the letters, so that our modern collection of 123 letters is constructed from three distinct MS families and some independent MSS. This can be illustrated by considering Schepers' sigla and the main MS families he identified:[13]

B	Vindobonensis phil. 342 (12C/13C)
Γ	Parisinus 1696 (13C/14C)
Δ	Parisinus 3050 (15C)
N	Parisinus suppl. grec 352 (13C)

10 For the earlier history of the arrangement in three books see Marquis in this volume.

11 Granholm also added some manuscripts (for F3) missed by Schepers, though all are derived from the primary MSS identified by Schepers (Granholm [2012: 22, 25–26, 30–32, 39–52]).

12 See Rosenmeyer [2001a: 267 n. 25], Schmitz [2004: 88–89], König [2007: 272].

13 See further Schepers [1905: xx–xxv], and Marquis in this volume.

Π	Parisinus 3021 (14C/15C)
Φ	Parisinus 3054 (15C)
Flor.	Laurentianus 59.5 (15C)
Harl.	Harleianus 5566 (14C)
Neap.[a]	Neapolitanus III. AA. 14 (14C/15C), ff. 129ᵛ sqq.
Neap.[b]	Neapolitanus III. AA. 14 (14C/15C) ff. 219ᵛ sqq. in different hand from Neap.[a]
Vat. 1	Vaticanus 140 (14C)
Vat. 2	Vaticanus 1461 (14C/15C)
Ven.	Marcianus VIII.2 (14C/15C)

Schepers classified MSS Harl., Ven. and Neap.[a] into one family (which I shall term, following Benner-Fobes, "F(amily) 1"), Γ and Vat. 1 into a second ("F2") and Vat. 2, Flor., Π and Δ into a third ("F3"), with Φ, B, N and Neap.[b] classified as independent manuscripts.[14] The order in which the letters are presented in these different families (and independent manuscripts) varies considerably. The tangled nature of the transmission of the *Letters* and the consequent variety in the order in which we find the *Letters* preserved, have often been noted in Alciphron scholarship. A good example is Jason König's statement that "The letters have come down to us arranged in many different patterns within different manuscripts, and the currently established order is a consequence of the editorial choices of an unidentifiable number of successive editors",[15] while Thomas Schmitz is more pessimistic still about the prospects of finding meaning amid the variation "since we are ignorant of the principles which guided the arrangement of the letters when they were first published, we are unable to interpret the collection as a meaningful entity".[16] Indeed Schmitz criticises Patricia Rosenmeyer (in her groundbreaking 2001 monograph, *Ancient Epistolary Fictions*) for attempting to examine the significance of (for example) opening letters within each book because "neither the grouping into books nor the arrangement of the letters within the 'books' can claim any authority".[17]

However, such critical despair is unnecessary: it is, in fact, possible to discern some order (and some orders) amid the MS variety and (moreover) doing so is crucial for understanding some of the effects and artistry of the letters. It is

14 See Benner–Fobes [1949: 19–20, 37].
15 König [2007: 272].
16 Schmitz [2004: 88]. Cf. also Rosenmeyer [2001a: 267 n. 25]: "Admittedly the textual tradition of the corpus is vexed ... The manuscripts differ in their ordering of the individual letters".
17 Schmitz [2004: 89 n. 8].

helpful at this stage to distinguish between two sorts of order: one is the "macro-structure" of the collection, i.e. the grouping into books and the order of those books (e.g. fishermen followed by farmers followed by parasites followed by courtesans of the modern editions—1, 2, 3, 4), the other is the "micro-structure", that is the order *within* these books and the sequences of letters discernible within these books. We may be able to come to conclusions about the micro-structure even if we cannot do so for some aspects of the macro-structure and *vice versa*. It is also important to remember that it will be useful to uncover *any* relevant order with a view to examining how the letters were read (at different points in their reception) and that the assumption underlying Schmitz's search for authority, that only an original authorial order could be significant, should be challenged: there are other orders which will have been significant for different generations of readers. With those things in mind, let us turn to the MSS.

The three main MS families (see above) have the following macro-structures:

F1 (x (MSS Harl. and Ven.) and Neap.[a]):	3, 2, 1
F2 (x^1 (Γ, Vat. 1)):	1, 2, 3
F3 (x^2 (Vat. 2, Flor., Π, Δ)):[18]	1, 3, 2, 4

The independent MSS, with the exception of N (Parisinus suppl. grec 352), do not preserve enough letters to have a macro-structure of the same kind; B (Vindobonensis phil. 342) contains only letters from book 2 (the letters of farmers), Neap.[b] only letters from book 1, Φ (Parisinus 3054) only letters from book 4. N, however, preserves the letters of book 1 and then some from book 3, in that order (so a macro-structure of 1, 3). It should be immediately clear that no MS preserves the order 1, 2, 3, 4 of the modern editions—in two MS families book 3 (parasites) precedes book 2 (farmers) and in one family book 1 (fishermen) follows both books three and two. We shall return to the macro-structure later, but at this point it is possible to conclude (here agreeing with Schmitz) that there is no getting back to an authorial macro-structure of the four books (in part because we cannot be certain that the collection into four books is authorial), nor indeed to a later established editorial macro-structure. It does not appear possible, from the MS evidence as we have it, to establish definitively the relative order of books 2 and 3, for example, in the ancestor of our MSS.

18 x, x^1, x^2 denote for Schepers lost MSS, the ancestors of those MSS grouped under each, and the descendants of the archetype X (Schepers [1905: xx–xxi]).

When we consider the micro-structure, the order of the letters themselves (as opposed to the books of letters), a somewhat different picture emerges. Here the main orders discernible in the MSS are as follows:[19]

F1:	**3**.1–7, 9–18, 20–27, 33, 28–32, 34–35, 37–39, 42, 19; **2**.2–15, 17–27, 16, 28–30; **1**.1–13, 15–22 (Harl. and Ven.)[20]
F2:	**1**.1–22; **2**.2–15, 17–27, 16, 28, 30; **3**.1–39, 42[21]
F3:	**1**.1–11, 13–22; **3**.36–41; **2**.2–8; **4**.1–19, frag. 5[22]
B:	**2**.1–4, 6–15, 17–27, 16, 28–2.39[23]
N:	**1**.1–22; **3**.1–4, 5 (fragmentary)
Neap.[b]:	**1**.1–12
Φ:	**4**.18–19, 2.

This is not quite the picture of absolute chaos (at least at the level of the micro-structures) one might have come to expect from Schmitz's statement that all the Alciphron MSS "present the collection in differing order; none of them has the full corpus".[24] In fact, it is possible to see a substantial degree of overlap in the micro-structures of the different MSS. One important consequence of considering the micro-structure of the collection is that it becomes clear that the

19 Book numbers are in bold, semicolons separate different 'books', using the modern numbers assigned to individual letters in Schepers [1905] and following the description in Schepers [1905] of the MSS as corrected in one or two places by Benner–Fobes [1949: 18–21].

20 Neap.[a] has **3**.1, 17, 2–4, 6, 7, 9–13, 16, 18, 19 (i.e. selections from the same order from book 3, with the promotion of 17). See Schepers [1905: xviii], Benner–Fobes [1949: 20].

21 Following Benner–Fobes [1949: 20], who, note Schepers [1905: vii], seems to include the fragmentary 3.41 here in error.

22 MS Δ has the order **1**.1–10, 14–22; **3**.37–40; **2**.3–7; **4**.2–11, 14–19; **1**.11, 13; **3**.36, 41; **2**.2, 8; **4**.1, 12–13, frag. 5 (i.e. substantially the same order with some omissions and then a supplementary group from those omissions at the end: see Schepers [1905: ix], Benner–Fobes [1949: 20–21]). As well as including frag. 5 at the end, Δ contains Crates' letter 9 between 1.22 and 3.37, on which see Granholm [2012: 205], who comments that "if frag. 5 is authentic then it must have been misplaced here at a later stage in the transmission due to damage in the manuscript; perhaps it originally stood between the now fragmentary letters 4.12 and 4.13 or before 4.1. But a more likely explanation is that fragm. 5 does not belong to Alciphron but was added later as a place filler at the end of a manuscript. A similar interpolation can be found in the manuscripts after 1.22 (the last letter of book 1) and 3.36 (fragmentary in the beginning) where Crates' letter 9 and the first sentence of letter 10 have been added (the scribe of D [= Schepers' Δ] has omitted Crates 10)."

23 So Granholm [2012: 21 n. 49] reporting on Vindobonensis phil. Gr. 342; Scheper [1905: xii] simply reports its contents as 2.1–4, 6–39.

24 Schmitz [2004: 88].

grouping into 'books' is meaningful and justified: the MSS do not intersperse letters from the different types of correspondents (with the exception of Δ, where this is clearly a derivative order and where we never find the interspersion of individual letters, only groups). I see no reason not to assume that this broad arrangement into groups is authorial (especially since we have the strong parallel of the probably almost contemporary *Letters of Farmers* of Aelian),[25] although we cannot be sure that the groups of correspondents were meant to be read alongside one another (in one collection, as opposed to four distinct collections—or perhaps some other grouping—fishermen with parasites, courtesans with farmers). I shall return to this aspect (which is in fact about macro-structure) below. Within the groups or books of letters, it is also clear that there are important similarities to be found across the MSS: the order in book 1 is very stable—1 to 22 in that order (F2, N), with variations from this order caused by omission (of 1.14 in F1, 1.12 in F3, 1.13–22 in Neap.[b]). Likewise book 2's micro-structure is stable, though with substantial omissions: we find the order 2–15, 17–27, 16, 28–30 in F1, F2 (with the omission of 2.29) and B (with the addition of 2.1 at the beginning, and 2.31–39 at the end, and the omission of 2.5), with F3 preserving a small section of this order (2.2–8). I shall return to the place of 2.16 below. Book 4 also has a stable order (though preserved in F3 only), 4.1–19 followed by frag. 5 (found in Vat. 2, Flor., Π; the variation in Δ seems to derive from omissions from this order corrected by supplementation at the end of the MS). There is a little more variety in the order of the letters in book 3 (which contains the largest number of letters) between F1 and F2 (only small numbers of letters from that book are preserved in F3 and N, but even these groupings appear to reflect at least in part the better-preserved orders): F1 shares substantially the same order, but differs from F2 by omitting 3.8, placing 3.19 at the end, promoting 3.33 ahead of 3.28–32 and omitting 3.36. At least some of these differences appear to be because of scribal errors in the transmission of the F1 MSS: Schepers notes that in Ven. (F1) we find the sender-addressee title of 3.19 followed by letter 3.20, as if the body of 3.19 was simply omitted "errore scribae festinantis", as Schepers puts it;[26] we then find 3.19 at the end of the book 3 letters following 3.42, and given the title of 3.20 (as if to correct the earlier error). We also find in Ven. another similar error which has led to the loss of a letter: 3.37 is given the title of 3.36, which is omitted. I shall return to other differences in the arrangement of book 3 below, but it should be clear that, by and large, the micro-structure of each of the four books (or groups) of letters is

25 On Aelian see Rosenmeyer [2001a: 308–321].
26 Schepers [1905: xvii].

fairly stable (with some omissions). Furthermore, within these groups, we can be relatively confident that we are dealing with deliberate and significant positioning and arrangement, which there is no reason not to ascribe to the author (one might posit an early editor enabling such arrangements, as is sometimes the case with other types of epistolary collection,[27] but it is worth remembering that these are not real letters being gathered after publication, but artistic fictions). On the other hand, it is also possible to discern some later re-ordering and re-arrangement of the letters. I shall return to those re-arrangements (and their motivations) below.

3 The Significance of Order and Arrangement in the MS Groupings

First of all, though, it is worth drawing out some of the patterns and arrangements which we can see (within the micro-structures of the books) and examine their significance and effects. We can also put some flesh on the dry bones of the descriptions of MS orders.

For many late medieval and Renaissance readers (those readers of F1, F2, F3) and perhaps for many earlier readers also, the letters of farmers will have begun with 2.2, rather than 2.1. This is the letter we touched on above, in which the farmer dreams of being a rich man but is woken to find his dreams to have been entirely false:

> Μεσούσης δὲ τῆς χειροτονίας ὁ παμπόνηρος ἀλεκτρυὼν ἀνεβόησε καὶ τὸ φάσμα ἠφανίσθη. ὅμως ἀνεγρόμενος περιχαρὴς ἦν ἐγώ· ἐνθύμιον δὲ ποιησάμενος τοὺς φυλλοχόους ἑστάναι μῆνας ἔγνων εἶναι τὰ ἐνύπνια ψευδέστατα.
>
> 2.2.3
>
> In the middle of the election, the wretched cock crowed and the dream-vision disappeared. All the same, when I awoke I was super-happy, but then I became aware that it was the leaf-shedding season and realized my dreams were completely false.

27 A good example is provided by the letters of Cicero, which were probably (though not certainly) gathered for publication after Cicero's death by an editor (Tiro and Atticus have been identified as likely candidates): see most recently the judicious survey of White [2010: 31–34], together with his Appendix 1, which surveys the evidence for the publication of the letters.

Patricia Rosenmeyer has commented that, "In some ways, Letter 2.2 represents its book better than 2.1".[28] Letter 2.1, which lacks its title detailing sender and addressee, has a farmer recount how he pursued a hare with some puppies, only to have one of them pursue its quarry down a hole and break one of its legs, thus producing not the small gain the farmer sought, but a great loss:

> Καὶ ἀνειλόμην χωλεύουσαν σκύλακα ἀγαθὴν καὶ τὸ ζῷον ἡμίβρωτον, καὶ γέγονέ μοι κέρδους ἐφιεμένῳ λυπροῦ ζημίαν μεγάλην ἀπενέγκασθαι.
>
> 2.1.2
>
> And I dragged out a good puppy gone lame and the creature half-eaten, and though I was aiming at only a meagre gain, I brought back a great loss.

This letter, in Rosenmeyer's view "does not function in a comparable programmatic manner".[29] Likewise for many such readers the collection of farmers' letters will have ended with 2.30 (having begun with 2.2). This range seems to have been created through the loss of letters from beginning and end (because of the evidence of B, which preserves a very similar order but adds letters at beginning and end), but it is worthy of note because of the strikingly 'programmatic' feel of 2.2 and the appropriateness of 2.30 as a bridge to the parasites' letters, which immediately follow it in F2. 2.30 has a farmer write to another about his encounter with some men he describes as οἰνόφλυγες ("winebibbers") at a symposium, his excessive drinking and his consequent hangover:

> Πιὼν οὖν ὅσον οὔπω πρότερον ἐν ἀσκῷ βαστάσας οἶδα, τρίτην ταύτην ἡμέραν ἔχω καὶ ἔτι σοι καρηβαρῶ καὶ τὴν κραιπάλην ἀπερυγγάνω.
>
> So, having drunk more than I remember ever having carried in my belly before, this is now the third day since and still, I tell you, I've a headache and I'm vomiting up the session.

The final letter of book 2 in B is from husband to wife and concerns rather the production of fleeces and resulting clothing for different seasons, with a less obvious closural character:

28 Rosenmeyer [2001a: 270].
29 Rosenmeyer [2001a: 269].

Ἔπεμψά σοι τῶν Δεκελειᾶσι προβάτων ἀποκείρας τὰ ῥωμαλέα τοὺς πόκους· ὅσα γὰρ ψώρας ὑπόπλεα, ταῦτα τῷ ποιμένι Πυρρίᾳ παρέδωκα χρῆσθαι ἐς ὅ τι ἂν θέλῃ, πρὶν φθάσαι διαφθαρῆναι παντελῶς ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου.

2.39.1

I've sent you fleeces of the strong ones of the sheep at Deceleia. The ones full of mange I gave to Pyrrhias the shepherd to use as he likes before they are completely ruined by the disease.

Perhaps the loss of some of the farmers' letters in parts of the MS tradition was not accidental but a deliberate act on the part of some editor in order to create more coherence across the different groups of Alciphron's letters?

Right or wrong, it is possible to discern one piece of recent editorial rearrangement for which there is no MS support, which is the bringing together of 2.15 and 2.16 so that the latter immediately follows the former.[30] 2.15 and 2.16 are paired letters involving an invitation (2.15) and its response (2.16). In 2.15 one Εὔσταχυς invites Πιθακνίων (i.e. lit. "Good-sheaf" to "Jug-son"—all of the letters in the first three books have correspondents whose names are comically appropriate to their occupations)[31] to his son's birthday party, and extends the invitation to Pithacnion's wife, children, labourer and even dog, who will be useful "to frighten away those with designs on the flocks". But in the MSS 2.16, the response to Eustachys from Pithacnion, comes after 2.17–27, rather than straightaway. This is significant because the great majority of letters in Alciphron are *unanswered*—they are sent from sender to addressee but we never learn about a response or reaction from that addressee.[32] The separation of 2.15 and 2.16 by several letters initially makes it seem as if we have here another unanswered letter, but when we finally do come across the response, we find (as is typical for the collection) disappointment—despite a name suggesting he likes a good party, the invitation is turned down as far as Pithacnion and his dog are concerned, since they have to stay at home to guard a thief whom Pithacnion has been concerned about for some time:

Ὁ μὲν γὰρ δριμὺ βλέπει καὶ τοξοποιεῖ τὰς ὀφρῦς καὶ σφριγῶντας ἔχει τοὺς ὤμους καὶ ἁδρὰν τὴν ἐπιγουνίδα φαίνει· ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πόνων καὶ τῆς δικέλλης κατέσκληκα, καὶ τύλους μὲν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχω, λεπτότερον δέ μοι τὸ δέρμα

30 On the position of 2.16 in modern editions, see also Marquis in this volume.

31 On such "speaking names" in Alciphron, see Casevitz [2002], König [2007: 277–280] and Hodkinson in this volume.

32 On unanswered letters in books 3 and 4, see König [2007: 267–270].

> λεβηρίδος. ἡ μὲν οὖν γυνὴ καὶ τὰ παιδία εἰς σοῦ βαδιοῦνται καὶ τῆς εὐωχίας μεθέξουσιν, ὁ δὲ σύργαστρος μαλακῶς ἔχει τὰ νῦν. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἡ κύων τὸν μιαρὸν οἴκοι φυλάξομεν.
>
> 2.16.2–3

> … because he looks mean and arches his brows and has full shoulders and displays thick thighs, but I have withered away with labour and the mattock and I have callouses on my hands. My skin is thinner than a snake's slough. So my wife and children will come to yours and share in the feasting, but my labourer is feeling weak at the moment. I and the dog shall guard the foul one at home.

This is a reminder of the 'real' dangers of the farmer's life and responds to (and undercuts) the atmosphere of levity and hope in the invitation. The separation of the two letters reinforces this, but this is lost in modern editions, though the transposition of 2.16 is earlier than Schepers 1905 (it is already present in Hercher 1873).

This rearrangement may be influenced by the relative positions of the other paired letters in the collection, especially in books 1 and 2. There are 5 such pairs of letters (including 2.15 and 2.16) in those books,[33] one of those being a triplet, the other pairs being found consecutively in the MSS (with the exception of 1.12, the brief response to 1.11, which is omitted in F3). This may mean, of course, that we need to consider scribal errors as having generated the gap between 2.15 and 2.16 which we examined above. In F1 (but not in F2) we also see an order 3.27, 3.33 then 3.32 and so forth, which may reflect an attempt to position related letters next to one another, since 3.27 concerns a parasite complaining about his master's wife giving birth to an illegitimate child five months after their wedding, a birth and subsequent exposure kept secret by the household, with the parasite promising to tell his master if he continues to be insulted. In F1 this is immediately followed by 3.33, a similar letter (though with different correspondents), in which a parasite complains to another that he informed his master of his wife's ἀσέλγεια ("licentiousness"), but that the wife swore an oath that this accusation was untrue, escaping the charge herself but leading to the parasite's dismissal from the household. Juxtaposing the letters in this way gives

33 Paired letters in books 1 and 2 (out of 61 letters): 1.11 & 1.12; 1.17, 1.18 & 1.19; 1.21 & 1.22; 2.6 & 2.7; 2.15 & 2.16; 2.24 & 2.25. See further König [2007: 270–271 with n. 36]. There are no paired letters in book 3, while book 4 is more tightly constructed and organised, with the same characters reappearing in different letters, and with a greater sense of overall coherence: see esp. Rosenmeyer [2001a: 272–273] and also further below.

an impression of a 'quasi-narrative' and hints at what would be sure to happen to the parasite of 3.27 if he did speak out.

The paired letters in books 1 and 2 (such as the pair of letters between mother and daughter in 1.11 and 1.12) represent a small element of chronological (or perhaps 'narrative') arrangement in the letters of Alciphron, since the second (or third) letters of such sequences respond directly to the preceding letter. The mother's letter in 1.12 is a good example—the mother reacts to the lovesick girl (and her threats of suicide if she cannot have her beloved) by calling her mad (and warning her that if her father finds out he will throw her into the sea, comically picking up on her threats of a similar manner of suicide):[34]

> Εἰ γάρ τι τούτων ὁ σὸς πατὴρ πύθοιτο, οὐδὲν διασκεψάμενος οὐδὲ μελλήσας τοῖς ἐναλίοις βορὰν παραρρίψει σε θηρίοις.
>
> 1.12.2

> If your father finds out about any of these things, he won't think it over or pause, but throw you to the sea-creatures as food!

There is much of interest in these pairs of letters (not least with reference to 1.11 and 1.12, the oddity of two women who must share a house writing letters to one another, which has been ably explored by Owen Hodkinson),[35] but from our perspective it is worth noting that this kind of arrangement is the exception rather than the rule in Alciphron, where most of the letters are unanswered single letters (all of those in book 3, for example) without a firm dramatic date and without clear connections to other letters in the collection in terms of correspondents, although there is some thematic development, as we shall see. So chronological or narrative arrangements are rare in the letters as a whole, which makes this collection markedly different when compared with some Greek fictional letters, such as the epistolary 'novellas' of Chion or Themistocles, which do display chronological and narrative order(s).[36]

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34 The daughter Glaucippe threatens a watery death if she does not get her way: ἢ τούτῳ μιγήσομαι ἢ τὴν Λεσβίαν μιμησαμένη Σαπφὼ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς Λευκάδος πέτρας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν Πειραϊκῶν προβόλων ἐμαυτὴν εἰς τὸ κλυδώνιον ὤσω ("Either I shall be with this man or, imitating Lesbian Sappho, though not from the Leucadian rock but from the projecting rocks of the Piraeus, I will throw myself into the waves", 1.11.4).

35 Hodkinson [2007].

36 On the structuring of these collections see (e.g.) Penwill [1978], Morrison [2014: 301–302] on Themistocles, Rosenmeyer [2001a: 234–252], Morrison [2014: 302], Christy [2016] on Chion.

There is, however, another major exception to this characterisation of the letters of Alciphron in book 4. Here we find much more overlap between correspondents and more careful development between letters, as the following outline illustrates (bold indicates a correspondent who appears more than once):

- 4.1—**Phryne** to Praxiteles
- 4.2—**Glycera** to **Bacchis**
- 4.3—**Bacchis** to Hypereides
- 4.4—**Bacchis** to **Phryne**
- 4.5—**Bacchis** to **Myrrhina**
- 4.6—**Thais** to Thettale
- 4.7—**Thais** to Euthydemus
- 4.8—**Simalion** to **Petale** }
- 4.9—**Petale** to **Simalion** }
- 4.10—**Myrrhina** to Nicippe
- 4.11—Menecleides to Euthycles (about the death of **Bacchis**)
- 4.12—Leaena to Philodemus
- 4.13—title missing [perhaps the addressee is **Bacchis**?]
- 4.14—Megara to **Bacchis**
- 4.15—Philumena to Crito
- 4.16—**Lamia** to Demetrius
- 4.17—Leontion to **Lamia**
- 4.18—**Menander** to **Glycera** }
- 4.19—**Glycera** to **Menander** }
- frag. 5—title missing

There are two formally responding pairs of letters (4.8 & 4.9 and 4.18 & 4.19), marked above, with a much tighter range of characters, several of those appearing either as correspondents or in the body of the letter in different letters. A good example is the opening group of five letters in book 4, which deal with the aftermath of Phryne's court appearance for impiety and her defence by Hypereides.[37] This should make it apparent that in book 4, in contrast to the other three books, we are dealing with letters purporting to be those of real, identifiable historical individuals; in other words, these are pseudepigraphic, as well as fictional. Even here, however, we are not dealing with straightforward chronological or narrative arrangement; there are other principles in operation. Letters 4.6 and 4.7, for example, are written by the same character, Thais, while 4.13 and 4.14 are thematically very similar, being a pair of party descriptions, perhaps with the same addressee, provided that Bacchis (the addressee

37 See Rosenmeyer [2001a: 272–273].

of 4.14) is also the recipient of 4.13, which seems plausible. There is also some observable ring-composition across the collection, since the correspondents of 4.18 and 19 (Menander and Glycera), bring us back to the subject matter of 4.2, which has Glycera writing to Bacchis about the visit of Menander to Corinth.[38] Bacchis is in fact the character who appears most often in the collection, since she writes three and receives at least two letters (possibly three) and is also the subject of another, 4.11, where the male sender laments to his male addressee (neither is a *hetaira*, despite the letter's appearance in the letters of *hetairai*). This highlights another aspect of the order of book 4, which is that strict chronology is not observed, since Bacchis is apparently alive again in 4.14 as the addressee: she has missed the party because "you alone of us are coddling your Adonis" (σὺ δ' ἡμῖν μόνη τὸν Ἄδωνιν περιέψυχες, 4.14.3), according to Megara, in case she loses him to Persephone as Aphrodite lost Adonis. This invests 4.14 with a species of dramatic irony, in that we know that Bacchis herself is to die (and be lamented by her lover in 4.11, who also makes a derogatory comparison between her and Megara (the writer of 4.14), decrying the latter as ἱππόπορνος).[39] One might compare the placing of the final letter in the "Platonic" epistles (the thirteenth, from Plato to Dionysius), which has an earlier dramatic date than most of the preceding letters and portrays a phase of the relationship between philosopher and tyrant before things have gone wrong, but which cannot be read except with the knowledge of Plato's incarceration by Dionysius and the failure of his attempts at educating the tyrant.[40]

The problem of Bacchis, first being dead, then apparently alive, may be behind the rearrangement in one MS (A in Schepers 1901, Vind. in Schepers 1905, W in Granholm 2012 = Vindobonensis phil. gr. 318, 16C),[41] written by Demetrios Moschos, which places 4.11 after 4.14 and 4.15.[42] As with the movement of 2.16 which we examined above, there is much lost through this alteration, since it misses (and robs us of) the power of placing the letter gleefully describing a party to Bacchis who has missed it after one in which she is lamented as being no longer around to enjoy any parties.

38 See further on the order in book 4 Rosenmeyer [2001a: 273].

39 It is possible that the irony is greater still if we are meant to think Bacchis is *already* dead by the time of 4.14, especially if she is the recipient of 4.13, which addresses a courtesan who has missed another party because of illness (n.b. σὺ δὲ εἰ μὲν ὄντως ἔσχηκας μαλακῶς, ὅπως ἄμεινον ἕξεις σκόπει, "if you have truly not been well, make sure you get better", 4.13.19).

40 See Morrison [2013: 127–129].

41 Derivative from one of the primary MSS for book 4, D (= Schepers' Δ) according to Granholm [2012: 33, 50–52].

42 See Granholm [2012: 50].

Elsewhere in Alciphron we can detect in the micro-structures an arrangement by theme, e.g. at the beginning of book 1. The first eight letters of this book, for example, show clear signs of thematic development,[43] even though none of the correspondents is repeated within these letters:

- 1.1: Eudius to Philoscaphus: a halcyon day following a storm, a great catch made.
- 1.2: Galenaeus to Cyrton: the fruitless and unending labour of fishermen, the loss of fellow-worker.
- 1.3: Glaucus to Galatea: husband to wife on the dangers of the sea, the desirability of becoming farmer.
- 1.4: Cymothoüs to Tritonis: husband to wife on her desertion of the sea-shore for the city.
- 1.5: Naubates to Rhothius: one fisherman berates another for using riches to steal his labourers.
- 1.6: Panope to Euthybolus: a wife to a husband on his abandonment of his family for a Piraeus woman.
- 1.7: Thalassus to Pontius: a request for a pair of oars to replace broken ones.
- 1.8: Eucolymbus to Glauce: a husband seeks advice from his wife as to whether he should join pirates.

1.1 relates a tale of success and an unusually rich catch, while 1.2 describes the hard lot of fishermen, 1.3 the attractions of the land over the sea, 1.4 the dangers of the city as compared to the sea, directed to a wife who spends too much time in the city, while 1.6 is a (different) wife's accusation of a husband who spends too much time with a Piraeus woman, away from his family, 1.7 is a request for help, 1.8 a request for advice. Hence a good deal of careful arrangement and significant juxtaposition is discernible in the micro-structure of book 1.

One of the letters at the beginning of book 1, 1.3, tells of a fisherman's desire to put aside his life and become a farmer; he mentions in particular the benefits his children will have if he abandons the sea:

> … τὸ τὰς τρικυμίας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ βυθοῦ κινδύνους ἀγνοῆσαι, γεωργίᾳ δὲ συντραφῆναι καὶ τὸν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἀδεᾶ βίον ἀσπάσασθαι.
>
> 1.3.3

43 On similar significant patterning and ordering at the beginning of book 3 see Barbiero in this volume, who suggests it is likely that such arrangement is authorial.

> … not to have known the huge waves or the dangers from the depths, to have been raised on the farm, and to have held on to a safe and pleasant life.

This is one of several occasions on which one type of character in the letters refers to or wishes to become a different type (we met another such example in 2.2, the farmer dreaming of being a rich man and attended to by parasites).[44] These cross-references have seemed to some critics significant and suggestive of a coherence across the different books,[45] and indeed it is hard to escape a conclusion that we are meant to see the cross-references as in some way pointing to the other books of Alciphron's letters, but it is difficult to move beyond this towards a reconstruction of the macro-structure of the collection as a whole. In particular, it is difficult to be sure of the relative *order* of the books (or even that these cross-references are (as it were) intratextual rather than intertextual—we cannot know if the books were originally published separately). It is therefore difficult to regard the 1, 2, 3, 4 structure of the modern editions as accurately describing this macro-structure, and when Rosenmeyer writes (of 2.2, the farmer's dream of riches) that "Alciphron *will upset* this naïve view when he gives the parasites their own voices *later in the collection*"[46] we have moved beyond what we can ascertain about the macro-structure, as we have when Rosenmeyer describes the parasites' letters as having a "pivotal position" between the rustic books 1 and 2 and ahead of the courtesans' letters.[47] We cannot know the authorial order of the different books, and it is clear that no MS preserves the 1, 2, 3, 4 order of the modern editions: we have no evidence that late medieval or Renaissance readers were reading the letters in that order (quite apart from ancient readers).

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44 Other cross-references include: 1.9 (fisherman writes to parasite), 1.15 (a fisherman takes rich men and courtesans on pleasure cruise), 2.2 (farmer dreams of being rich enough to have parasites), 2.4 (farmer wants to sail the sea), 2.32 (a parasite wants to work on a farm), 3.4 (a parasite escapes death, will now work at Piraeus), 3.5 (instructions to parasite about kidnapping a courtesan), 3.14 (a parasite complains of a young man spending all his money on a prostitute), 3.34 (a parasite who became a farmer and then failed to return to a life of parasitism, became highwayman).

45 See on these cross-references and their significance Rosenmeyer [2001a: 285–291], Schmitz [2004: 88–89].

46 Rosenmeyer [2001a: 286].

47 "In its pivotal position following the dyad of rustic letters in books 1 and 2, but leading into the final book of courtesans' letters, the examples of role-shifting in book 3 point both backwards and forwards" (Rosenmeyer [2001a: 289]).

One can, of course, speculate about possible orders, or separate publications of the individual books (which might explain some of the volatility in macro-structure, if different editors combined the existing books in different ways, while preserving their basic internal micro-structures), or the publication of books in pairs, but this remains speculation. The differences between the correspondents in book 4 and the other three books, alongside some of the other differences we have seen in the development and structure in that fourth book, make the possibility of its separate publication one we should consider, though it seems also to have been a factor in its positioning at the end of modern editions (it has seemed a fitting close to many readers, including Rosenmeyer). Still, the macro-structure remains uncertain.

The micro-structures, however, we can be more confident about. Nevertheless, these require further and careful investigation. In general, one might discern in them beyond a grouping in terms of the type of correspondent (the distinct groups or books), a sort of overall thematic variety within those books (especially the first three), perhaps meant to give the impression through their breadth of the different lives and hopes (and usually the disappointment of these hopes) lived by the different groups of characters in the letters, though it is worth remembering the conscious artificiality of the letters.[48] But the MS tradition of Alciphron, though complex, should no longer be a barrier to the investigation of what I have termed the micro-structure of the letters and their significance, their principles of arrangement and their effects. This also has consequences for other letter collections in Greek, and more broadly for ancient letter collections as a type. Close and careful examination of the different orders discernible in the MSS can yield important conclusions even for collections whose transmission is *prima facie* difficult or complex. The time has come, therefore, for a wider investigation into how ancient letter collections were ordered and read.

48 In 3.29, after the parasite Pexanconus ("Fixed Elbow") quotes Theocritus 7.82, he declares εἰπεῖν γὰρ οὐ χεῖρον κατὰ τοὺς παιδείᾳ σχολάζοντας ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ὁρμώμενον, ἐν αἷς οὐδὲ εἷς τούτων ἄγευστος ("Since for someone coming from Athens it's no bad thing to speak in the manner of those who devote themselves to learning, since there there's not one person who hasn't tasted of these things"). Cf. the similar case of 1.3, where the farmer who wants to be a fisherman quotes Aratus, *Phaenomena* 299. See in general Schmitz [2004] and König [2007] on the self-conscious artificiality of Alciphron's *Letters*.

CHAPTER 3

Time to Eat: Chronological Connections in Alciphron's *Letters of Parasites*

Emilia A. Barbiero

Alciphron's *Letters* have come down to us in 13 manuscripts.[1] None of these preserves the entire corpus, and Schepers' 1905 Teubner (still the text's most recent critical edition) presents the missives in an order reconstructed from the various arrangements they contain. This scattered transmission has made scholarship sceptical of interpreting Alciphron's oeuvre as a significant entity.[2] But as Emeline Marquis and Andrew Morrison demonstrate in this volume, criticism has been labouring under a misapprehension of chaotic disorder in the manuscripts when in fact they exhibit stability in the text's transmission on both the macro- and micro-levels, groupings that remain visible in Schepers' edition.

This revelation opens up an entirely new scope of inquiry in the study of Alciphron's *Letters*, for the corpus can now be analysed *qua* collection. What sort of meaning is invested in the text's arrangement, and how does a sequential reading change our understanding of the single epistles? I propose to investigate these questions and so to demonstrate the possibilities of a structural approach to Alciphron's work by focusing on the first seven missives of the Ἐπιστολαὶ Παρασίτων, our Book 3.[3] This segment of the text is transmitted by the manuscripts in a clearly discernible pattern,[4] a disposition that is reinforced by the content of the missives themselves: a close reading of these texts reveals a

1 Of these 13 MSS, 2 are independent and 11 belong to 3 distinct families. For further details, see Marquis and Morrison in this volume.

2 Thus, most recently, Schmitz [2004: 88], König [2013: 254] and Funke [2015: 231].

3 As Marquis and Morrison point out in this volume, the MSS suggest that Alciphron's *Letters* were originally grouped into books by author type, although there is no indication of the books' order upon publication or, indeed, if they originally appeared as a group at all. Our Book 3, then, might have been in fact Book 1, 2 or 4, or a stand-alone book.

4 Letters 3.1–7 appear as a unit in that order in 4 of the 6 primary MSS containing this segment of the text (Harl., Ven., Γ, and Vat. 1). The other 2 MSS closely reflect the same arrangement: N has letters 3.1–5 in sequence (although 3.5 breaks off near the beginning), whereas Neap.[a] omits letter 3.5 and inserts 3.17 between 3.1 and 2, but otherwise preserves the rest of the series intact. For the insertion of 3.17, see n. 16 below.

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nexus of connections between them.[5] In what follows I will show that letters 3.1–6 constitute a literary series bookended by 3.7, a 'sixquence', as it were, containing three thematic pairs marked by the epistles' corresponding temporal positioning as well as intratextual links. Taking these missives together transforms our reading experience of the macrotext, for as a unit they form a succession of three two-part narratives while maintaining a chronological scheme introduced by the first epistle. In unravelling the letters' sequential meaning (that is, the meaning that emerges from a linear reading as opposed to one that considers each missive individually), I will flesh out König's observation that Alciphron's epistles often occur in an oscillating pattern of hope and despair, inviting the reader to construct his own narrative.[6] However, whereas König sees an abstract alternation in the letters' order that he declines to attribute to the author, I posit a much more concrete and intricate relationship, which, owing to new insights into the text's transmission, I trace to Alciphron himself.[7] Furthermore, in the vein of Rosenmeyer's study, I will argue that 3.1 works as a programmatic opening to a βιβλίον of letters.[8] Thus I seek not only to demonstrate that letters 3.1–6 are a daisy chain of sorts, but also to suggest on the basis of this argument that Alciphron's oeuvre was designed *ab origine* as what Hodkinson has called an "epistolary book".[9]

My paper, then, contributes to a new discourse on ancient letter collections that seeks to understand the *modus* of their disposition, an approach pioneered by Beard [2002]. In her seminal study, Beard shows that Cicero's

5 Compare Rosenmeyer [2001a: 272], who says of the Ἐπιστολαὶ Παρασίτων that "[t]here are no real connections or cross-references between letters within this book, although a few appear well paired".

6 König [2007].

7 On what grounds, one might ask, do I attribute this arrangement in the MSS to the author rather than an editor? Given that Alciphron's are fictive epistles, it seems more likely that they would have been composed to fit into a particular order rather than subsequently arranged that way by an editor, who would have had to first read the texts and find thematic and verbal connections before putting them into a meaningful sequence. Moreover, this hypothetical editor's work would have to be operative in all the MSS we possess, with any trace of the authorial order completely obliterated by the later edition. This seems rather hard to imagine.

8 Although she, too, is under the impression that the "textual tradition of the corpus is vexed" (267 n. 25), Rosenmeyer [2001a: 267–273] reads the first epistles in each of Alciphron's books programmatically, for which she is taken to task by Schmitz [2004: 89 n. 8]. As it turns out, the MSS confirm that Rosenmeyer was right to read 1.1, 3.1 and 4.1 as opening letters (on the positioning of 2.1 in the MSS, see Morrison in this volume), even if her assertion that 1.1 is a fitting introduction to Alciphron's entire collection (269) turns out to be problematic given that the MSS give us no indication of the books' order; see n. 3 above.

9 Hodkinson [2007: 288].

Ad Fam. 16 is organised in a manner akin to an Augustan poetry book. The ancient editor (whoever he was) placed the texts in a particular order so as to forge links between single epistles and create meaning in the arrangement of the book itself, a meaning that emerges only through a sequential reading.[10] This method of organisation stands in marked contrast to the modern editorial preference for a chronological arrangement, which, in Cicero's case, has led to the dismantling of manuscript arrangements wholesale—and therefore editorial work that took place in the generation after the author's death. Gibson [2012] brings Beard's insight to bear on a large sample of non-fictional epistolary corpora, and shows these missives to have likewise been carefully arranged into books thematically or by addressee; chronological narrative was the aim of neither ancient epistolographers nor editors. And yet Gibson points out that fictive epistles, namely *Briefromane* such as the *Letters* of Chion of Heraclea, *are* ordered chronologically, a distinction between the two types of collection demanding further study.[11] Here, I demonstrate chronology to be one principle[12] of organisation in a fictional letter collection that is not a *Briefroman*,[13] and offer an explanation as to why Alciphron, at least, chose a chronological arrangement for his letters. I will argue that this Second Sophistic epistolographer uses time as a major structuring device to tessellate his narrative,[14] thereby

10 For the important work on the ordering of ancient poetry books that inspired this discovery, see the bibliography in Beard [2002: n. 58 and 59].

11 Gibson [2012: 58 n. 9]. On the *Briefroman*'s chronological organisation, see the bibliography in Gibson ad loc.

12 Without further investigation, there is no telling what other chronological sequences or indeed different modes of organisation we might discover in Alciphron's oeuvre. To be sure, the MSS contain more segments like 3.1–7 whose stability in transmission invites sequential analysis. The letters of our Book 1, for instance, are preserved in order with few exceptions, and 1.1–10 seems to me to form a significant unit. Letter 1.1 contains an extended description of the author's recent fishing trip, an opening that should be read as engaging with the *topos* of reading *qua* sea voyage and progress through the book *qua* progress through the sea. And yet, Alciphron seems to take us back in time as we read: 1.10 is a lengthy description of a storm similar to the one that threatened the voyage in the book's first epistle. See König [2007: 272–277] on the "narrative patterning" of Book 1 in its alternation between hope and despair.

13 It should be said, however, that scholars have commented on the novelistic character of our Book 4, the Ἐπιστολαὶ Ἑταιρῶν; cf. Ussher [1987: 102]; Rosenmeyer [2001a: 273] and Granholm [2012: 20].

14 De Pretis [2002: 141–144] reads Horace's *Epistles* I as forming a narrative of sorts via the illusion of a temporal sequence. On *Epistles* I, see also Morrison [2007], who reads the book's narrative as "an epistolary version of the implied narrative or plot of a path or progress in the *De Rerum Natura*" (125).

playing upon the comic *persona* of Book 3's parasite-authors and a pervasive epistolary convention, while at the same time referring to his own sophistic agenda.

1 Chronological Connections

In letter 3.1 Trechedeipnus complains to Lopadecthambus of his impatience for the sixth hour when their patron Theochares will finally settle at his couch to eat the meal the pair of parasites will share in, or so they think:

> Ὁ γνώμων οὔπω σκιάζει τὴν ἕκτην, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποσκλῆναι κινδυνεύω τῷ λιμῷ κεντούμενος.
>
> 3.1.1
>
> The pointer does not yet darken the sixth hour, but I run the risk of withering away, goaded as I am by hunger.

To remedy his ravenousness, Trechedeipnus absurdly proposes suicide, suggesting that he and his addressee hang themselves from the sundial so as to mischievously anticipate lunch:

> εἰ γὰρ ἢ ὅλην καταβαλοῦμεν τὴν κίονα τὴν τὸ πικρὸν τοῦτο ὡρολόγιον ἀνέχουσαν, ἢ τὸν γνώμονα τρέψομεν ἐκεῖσε νεύειν οὗ τάχιον δυνήσεται τὰς ὥρας ἀποσημαίνειν, ἔσται τὸ βούλευμα Παλαμήδειον.
>
> 3.1.2
>
> For if we shall either throw down the whole pillar that holds up this hateful clock, or turn the pointer to incline this-a-way where it can mark the hours more quickly, it shall be a feat worthy of Palamedes.

"Dinner-chaser" thus proposes a scheme that will literally put the clock forward to fool Theochares' slave into thinking that it is time to eat.[15]

Following Trechedeipnus' 'real-time' complaint comes a letter whose narrative, as we shall see, is set in the past. This jump back in time from 'today' to

15 König [2013: 256] sees 3.1's fixation on 'dinner time' as a means of differentiating patron and parasite: "The rigidity of Theochares' elite conceptions of time is as immovable a barrier to the satisfaction of [the parasites'] physical hunger as the sundial itself. That clash enhances the impression of the vast difference between the parasites and their masters".

'yesterday' in the passage from letter 3.1 to 3.2 is replicated in the next pair of epistles in the book (3.3 and 3.4), as well as in those following (3.5 and 3.6). Thus letter 3.1 introduces a chronological pattern whereby the temporal *origo* of Book 3's first six missives switches back and forth from present to past. The adverb χθές, 'yesterday' (which elsewhere in book 3 only occurs once, in 3.17[16]) clearly signposts this alternation, prominently placed in the opening of each 'yesterday' narrative. The Ἐπιστολαὶ Παρασίτων's initial sequence, then, consists of three consecutive epistolary sets, each recounting the events of 'today' and 'yesterday': letters 3.1 and 2, 3.3 and 4, and 3.5 and 6. Missive 3.1 both establishes this scheme and invites us to perceive it via Trechedeipnus' chronological fixation: not only is the letter explicitly about the passage and manipulation of time, but in the face of our 'Dinner-chaser's' fervent wish to speed up the clock, the next epistle in the series turns it back instead by recounting the events of 'yesterday'. This chronological rewind is made immediately explicit by χθές, which is letter 3.2's very first word. Trechedeipnus' hopes are thereby dashed by the book's time-twisting epistolary arrangement, a metaliterary enactment of the sad reality Alciphron's parasites inhabit, for these κόλακες are doomed to an existence of failure and disillusionment.

Letter 3.2 is written by Hektodioktes—'Pursuer of the sixth hour'. In his edition Schepers replaces this parasite's name with that of 'Trechedeipnus', against the evidence of all the manuscripts, presumably (for he gives no explanation) on the basis that a κόλαξ longing for the sixth hour should be so called. But there is good reason to retain 3.2's author as transmitted. By linking this epistle to its predecessor in the collection, Hektodioktes' name is an invitation to a sequential reading. The same may be said of the letters' thematic connection. Both recount the ruined promise of a meal, although from two different chronological standpoints.

Hektodioktes writes of his chance meeting 'yesterday' with the young man Gorgias, who invited him to dinner and asked that he bring along the courtesan Aëdonidum.[17] But the parasite failed utterly in the task set by his would-be host. When Hektodioktes called on the *hetaira*, she almost doused him in boiling water, for, as it turns out, Aëdonidum hates Gorgias for his miserliness. The poor

16 Letter 3.17, which like 3.2 has χθές as its very first word, is placed in Neap.[a] between 3.1 and 3.2–4. Might the scribe/editor responsible for this one-off arrangement have transposed it to create a pattern of two "yesterday" letters in a row?

17 König [2013: 204–205] reads Hektodioktes' letter as a play upon the conventional letter of invitation to a symposium, part of his larger argument about Book 3 as engaging with "a long-standing tradition of writing in letter form about symposia and dinner parties" (187). See also n. 20 below.

author's prospects of a meal are thus ruined, and we are left wondering whether he was sent on a fool's errand. If Gorgias is such a penny-pincher, would Hektodioktes ever have gotten a lavish dinner out of him anyway?

Both letters 3.1 and 3.2 depict *παράσιτοι* expecting to partake in a delicious meal later in the day, although the second missive's setting in the past allows its composer to tell us how his situation played out; viz. there was nothing to eat after all for the "Pursuer of the sixth hour". Letters 3.1–2 exemplify König's principle: Trechedeipnus' gastronomic aspirations are followed by Hektodioktes' dinner disappointment. But the name of letter 3.2's author, the situations' likeness and their juxtaposition in the manuscripts indicate that we are to read these narratives as fitting together more concretely. Hektodioktes' ruined date, I propose, may be understood as the corollary of Trechedeipnus' anticipation. That is, 3.2 represents the future to 3.1's present: sixth hour or not, "Dinner-chaser" will never catch up with his dinner.[18] Thus Hektodioktes' mournful statement that closes off the diptych expresses the futility of Trechedeipnus' hopes, too:

> Οὕτως ἡμεῖς ἐλπίσιν ἀπατηλαῖς βουκολούμενοι πλείους τῶν ἡδονῶν τοὺς προπηλακισμοὺς ὑπομένομεν.
>
> 3.2.3
>
> Fed thus on illusory hopes, we endure more insults than pleasures.

When read together with its predecessor, then, letter 3.2 in fact moves forward in time despite its ostensible position in 'yesterday'. This pattern of inverted chronology repeats itself throughout the 'sixquence': the missives' content complicates their temporal orientation of present/past, for each couplet forms a progressive narrative of present/future via the epistles' thematic links. Thus the chronological disposition of letters 3.1–6 at once enacts and reverses Trechedeipnus' plan by bending time in both directions, taking us 'back to the future', so to speak, with each epistolary pair.

Letter 3.3 switches back to 'today', and to an author who denies his own futurity. This epistle is a suicide note in which Artepithymus informs his fellow parasite that he will shortly string himself up:

18 A verbal echo confirms this link. Both parasite-authors use the same set of verbs to describe a call to dinner, the thematic focus of both their missives. Theochares' slave and Hektodioktes himself "run and tell" someone that it's time to eat: Θεοχάρης δὲ οὐ πρότερον καταλαμβάνει τὴν στιβάδα πρὶν αὐτῷ τὸν οἰκέτην **δραμόντα φράσαι** τὴν ἕκτην ἑστάναι (3.1.2) / ἐγὼ δὲ παρὰ τὴν Ἀηδόνιον **δραμὼν καὶ φράσας** παρ᾽ὅτου καλοῖτο (3.2.2).

> Ἀγχόνης μοι δεῖ, καὶ ὄψει με οὐ μετὰ μακρὸν ἐν βρόχῳ τὸν τράχηλον ἔχοντα.
> 3.3.1
>
> I need a strangling, and you shall soon see me with my neck in a noose.

The author explains that he is no longer able to bear the demands of his all-consuming stomach, nor the violence of his dining companions, who assault him by constantly striking him about the head:

> Τὸ πρόσωπον δὲ τὰς ἐπαλλήλους πληγὰς οὐκ ἀνέχεται, καὶ κινδυνεύω τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν τὸν ἕτερον συσταλῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ῥαπισμάτων ἐνοχλούμενος.
> 3.3.2
>
> My face can't take the incessant punches, and pestered as I am, I run the risk of one of my eyes going blind on account of the face-slaps.

Artepithymus signs off by declaring his intention to commit suicide after one last sumptuous meal:

> Ἔκρινα οὖν πολυτελοῦς τραπέζης ἀπολαύσας ἀποπτύσαι τὸ ζῆν, κρείττονα ὀδυνηροῦ βίου τὸν καθ'ἡδονὴν θάνατον ἡγησάμενος.
> 3.3.3
>
> I have decided, then, after I have eaten an extravagant meal, to spit out my life[19]—in the belief that a death in the midst of pleasure is better than a painful existence.

Letter 3.3 inserts itself into the epistolary sequence by looking simultaneously backwards and forwards. Ἀγχόνη—its first word, evokes 3.1 and Trechedeipnus' willingness to hang himself for a quicker meal. But this missive also anticipates letter 3.4, which plays out the aftermath of Artepithymus' vow. Once again Alciphron signals the epistles' connection via the second author's speaking name: 3.4 is a letter from Hetoemocossus, whose name, "Ready for an ear-boxing", bespeaks both his own tribulations and recalls the face-punching lamented by his epistolary predecessor. Also made immediately obvious is the missives'

19 König [2013: 256] perceptively observes that "… the imagery of spitting (ἀποπτύσαι) is a characteristic sign that he [Artepithymus] cannot think beyond the language of consumption: even suicide is described with the language one might use for rejecting rotten or unpleasant food".

shared subject matter. After opening his letter by exclaiming upon what a day 'yesterday' was, Hetoemocossus marvels at his salvation from becoming an inhabitant of the underworld:

> Ἤ τίς δαίμων ἢ θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς ἐρρύσατό μ'ἐν ἀκαρεῖ μέλλοντα παρὰ τοὺς πλείονας ἰέναι;
>
> 3.4.1
>
> Which spirit or *deus ex machina* saved me in a pinch as I was going down to the majority?

Both letters 3.3 and 3.4 are about death caused, or nearly so, by the perils of a parasite's life, although once again this common theme is treated from two distinct chronological perspectives so as to create a narrative diptych.

In letter 3.4, Hetoemocossus describes a traumatic near-death experience 'yesterday' when his over-zealous dining companions almost killed him at a symposium by stuffing him with food and drink:[20]

> Οἷα γὰρ οἷα ⟨οἱ⟩ λακκόπλουτοι εἰργάσαντό με ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν περιττὰ πίνειν καὶ πλείω ἢ κατὰ τὸ κύτος τῆς γαστρὸς ἐσθίειν ἀναγκάζοντες. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀλλᾶντα ἐνέσαττεν, ὁ δὲ κόπαιον εὐμέγεθες παρώθει ταῖς γνάθοις, ὁ δὲ κρᾶμα οὐκ οἶνον ἀλλὰ νᾶπυ καὶ γάρον καὶ ὄξος κερασάμενος καθάπερ εἰς πίθον ἐνέχει.
>
> 3.4.3
>
> For what sorts of things those rich men did to me, one after the other forcing me to chug a huge drink and to eat more than the hollow of my stomach can hold. One stuffed in a sausage, another thrust a huge piece of food between my jaw, and yet a third, having made a mixture not of wine but of mustard, fish sauce and vinegar, pours it in as if into a wine jar.

Like Artepithymus', Hetoemocossus' predicament arises from his suffering at the hands of abusive banqueters; he, too, is compelled to undergo torment as a result of an insatiable appetite. Because of this treatment, 3.3's author wishes to die after eating one last colossal meal, whereas in 3.4 the author almost does so. I wonder, then, if the near-fatal dinner forced upon Hetoemocossus 'yesterday' stands for Artepithymus' last πολυτελὴς τράπεζα. That is, 3.4 works as a kind of

20 König [2013: 201] discusses 3.4 as a parody of the conventional "sympotic report letter".

vision of the 'deadly' future projected in 3.3 and a highly ironic take on Artepithymus' ideal of a καθ'ἡδονὴν θάνατος. For Hetoemocossus' brush with death is anything but pleasurable: not only did the παράσιτος endure being choked with food and drink (trauma that is perhaps reflective of Artepithymus' choice of suicide by asphyxiation), but he tells us that during his recovery he vomited copiously in what seems like a fulfillment of Artepithymus' proclaimed intention to "spit out his life"—ἀποπτύσαι τὸ ζῆν.

As a result of his awful experience, Hetoemocossus has an epiphany of sorts, and vows to give up his gluttonous ways:

> Ἄμεινον γὰρ ἐπὶ θύμοις καὶ ἀλφίτοις διαβόσκειν τὴν γαστέρα, ὁμολογουμένην ἔχοντα τὴν τοῦ ζῆν ἀσφάλειαν, ἢ πεμμάτων ἀπολαύοντα καὶ φασιανῶν ὀρνίθων τὸν ἄδηλον ὁσημέραι θάνατον ἀπεκδέχεσθαι.
>
> 3.4.6
>
> It's better to feed the stomach on thyme and barley having the granted certainty of life than to await daily an uncertain death while enjoying pastries and pheasants.

This declaration recalls Artepithymus' sign off in 3.3.3 (quoted above). Neither author can tolerate a parasite's life any longer, so both proclaim their intention to abandon the profession and elect a preferable alternative at the end of their letters, although their wishes are opposite. Whereas Artepithymus opts for death, Hetoemocossus—having just almost died—chooses life instead. A verbal echo cements the thematic link: both missives have θάνατος in the accusative as their second last word (3.3.4, 3.4.6).

Via their 'deadly' connection, letters 3.3 and 3.4 are a humorous pairing of aspiration and failure. Just as he cannot control his appetite and succumbs to the temptation of one last meal before committing suicide, Artepithymus is shown through Hetoemocossus' tribulations to be incapable of abandoning life. The tragic undertones of his epistolary *vox ultima* are undercut in what may be read as a hilarious flop: letter 3.3, which denies the existence of a 'tomorrow', is ironically followed by a missive containing the author's absurd and quintessentially parasitic future, located though it is in 'yesterday'. As for Hetoemocossus, his fate is left to the reader's imagination, although one suspects that defeat lies in his future, too. "Ready-for an ear-boxing" is not likely to escape the abuse enshrined in his very name.[21]

21 König [2007: 278] argues that the speaking names in Alciphron's *Letters* "contribute to

Letter 3.4 is also interesting for the chronological organisation of its epistolary narrative, which zigzags through time. After marvelling at his miraculous salvation (3.4.1, quoted above), Hetoemocossus tells his addressee of 'yesterday's' nearly fatal events by recounting his lucky encounter with the doctor Acesilaüs who saved Hetoemocossus' life by forcing him to vomit and bleed out (3.4.2). The κόλαξ then flashes back to the symposium and gastronomical violence that almost killed him (3.4.3–4), only to fast-forward again to his treatment at the doctor's hands, now giving the gory details of his vomiting (3.4.5). This report ends via ring composition,[22] as Hetoemocossus zooms into the present by foretelling what he hopes will be his future: after once again mentioning the divine intervention with which he starts his letter, Hetoemocossus vows to quit his parasitical ways for good (3.4.5–6). The parasite thus jumps back and forth in time to tell a story of cause and effect, much as Alciphron does via his clever arrangement of letters 3.1–6. The internal author's narrative, however, moves in the opposite direction, for Hetoemocossus first recounts his sickness and treatment and only after that his condition's origins in the symposium, before once again moving through time (and through his grisly sickness) into the 'here and now' to project into the future. One might say that epistle 3.4 thus reflects writ small the chronological play taking place in the macro-text, an inverted *mise-en-abyme* of sorts at the midpoint of Book 3's 'sixquence'.

As we move forward to the next and last epistolary diptych, Alciphron gives us another hint to read sequentially. Letter 3.5 is composed by Oenopniktes, 'Wine-choked'. This name picks up on the strangulation motif in action since letter 3.1, recalling Trechedeipnus' proposal to hang himself as well as Artepithymus' proclaimed intention to do the same, and especially reminding us of Hetoemocossus, who almost perished as a result of the food and drink forced down his throat so as to almost choke him (though the liquid was emphatically *not* wine). Oenopniktes writes to his recipient Cotylobrochthisus to fix an appointment for later that evening:

> Ἴθι, λαβὼν τὴν σύριγγα καὶ τὰ κύμβαλα ἧκε περὶ πρώτην φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσοῦν στενωπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄγνον.
>
> 3.5.1

the idea that these characters are rooted in their own environments, however strong their expressed desire to escape".

22 As does Alciphron's 'sixquence'; see my discussion of letter 3.6, below.

> Come on, grab your syrinx and your cymbals and come around the first watch of the night to the golden narrow at the chaste tree.

The author suggests this encounter in order to put into action a plan to help the young man Therippides, who passionately desires a scheming courtesan named Klymene, although she is playing hard to get:

> Διακαῶς δὲ αὐτῆς οὗτος ἐρᾷ πολὺς ἐξ οὗ χρόνος, καὶ δαπανᾶται οὐκ ὀλίγα μάτην· ᾐσθημένη γὰρ τὸν ἔρωτα ἐκκεκαυμένον τοῦ μειρακίου θρύπτεται καὶ συνεχῶς ἀκκίζεται.
>
> 3.5.2
>
> He has had 'the hots' for her for a long time now, and he spends not a small sum in vain: for having sensed the young man's burning love, she is flirty and constantly pretends to be bashful.

Oenopniktes suggests that they take the girl to their patron this evening by force, thereby earning Therippides' gratitude and rich rewards hereafter:

> Θηριππίδες δὲ εἰ τοῦτο αἴσθοιτο καὶ τοὖργον ἐπιγνοίη τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀγρυπνίας κατόρθωμα, ληψόμεθα χρυσοῦς τοῦ νέου σκέμματος οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ λαμπρὰν ἐσθῆτα, καὶ προσέτι τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσιέναι ἐπ'ἀδείας ἕξομεν καὶ τὸ χρῆσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνεπικωλύτως.
>
> 3.5.3
>
> For if Therippides notices this deed and recognizes the success of our tireless effort, we shall receive from our unexpected scheme not a little bit of cash and magnificent clothing, and besides we will be able to enter the house with impunity and enjoy the rest unimpeded.

Letter 3.5 clearly harks back to 3.2, whose author Hektodioktes tried (and failed) to bring a courtesan to his patron in exchange for dinner. The missives' positioning also suggests a link between them: 3.2 and 3.5 are the second and second-last epistles in the sequence.[23] But Oenopniktes' detailed forecast of

23 This connection between letters 3.2 and 3.5 is confirmed by an intratextual link. Hektodioktes describes Aëdonidum's violent reaction to Gorgias' invitation thus: πλήρη τὴν κακάβην **ἀποσπάσασα** τῶν χυτροπόδων ἐδέησέ μου κατὰ τοῦ βρέγματος καταχέαι ζέοντος τοῦ ὕδατος (3.2.3). Ἀποσπάω recurs in 3.5: ὥρα οὖν καὶ βίᾳ ταύτην, εἰ συνήθως ἀντιτείνοιντο ἡμῖν, **ἀποσπᾶν** (3.5.2). The verb is used in the first place to describe the agency of the *hetaira* whom a para-

the future presents a novelty in the series. Although other parasites in the 'sixquence' make statements about what 'tomorrow' will bring, this author lingers at length over the good fortune he and Cotylobrochthisus are sure to enjoy once their plot is successfully completed. He even goes so far as to suggest that they might thereby escape their identities as κόλακες:[24]

> Τάχα δὲ οὐδὲ παρασίτους ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ φίλους ἡγήσεται· οἱ γὰρ παράκλησιν εἰς εὐποιίαν μὴ ἀναμείναντες οὐκέτι κόλακες ἀλλὰ φίλοι λογίζονται.
>
> 3.5.3

> And perhaps he shall think of us not as parasites but as friends: for those who do not wait for a request to do a good deed are considered no longer flatterers but friends.

Thus Oenopniktes generates his own vision of the future, usurping, as it were, the function of the next missive in the series. And to the reader's surprise, he is right about what is to come. Unlike the unfortunate Hektodioktes, whose experience in 3.2 with Aëdonidum conditions our expectations as to how this parasite will make out with Klymene, "Wine-choked"'s future is played out via narrative association in letter 3.6, which suggests that he got the *hetaira* to the party and thus collected his just 'desserts', although, as it turns out, that is not the whole story.

Rhagostrangisus' lament in 3.6 is the last epistle in the 'sixquence'. In their 1949 Loeb edition of the *Letters*, Benner and Fobes translate this parasite's name as "Grape-squeezer", tracing the coinage's second part to στραγγίζω, "to squeeze out". But could the reader also think of στραγγαλίζω, "to strangle", when puzzling out Rhagostrangisus' speaking name? Given the choking *topos* that occurs repeatedly in the series, I am inclined to think that he might. This derivation makes Rhagostrangisus a veritable synonym of Oenopniktes, thereby indicating—as in the preceding epistolary pairs—that we should read the second parasite in the couplet as acting out the future of the first.

In his letter Rhagostrangisus complains of a pitiful *peripeteia* he has suffered from 'yesterday' to 'today' because of bad luck in a game of dice:

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site wishes to cart off to his patron, whereas in the second instance it describes the agency of those attempting to cart a *hetaira* off. Could this shift in the grammatical subject as well as the missives' mirror-image positioning in the sequence reflect the opposite outcomes of the two scenarios? See my argument about how 3.6 subverts the reader's expectations, below.

24 On role-reversal in Alciphron, see Rosenmeyer [2001a: 285–291].

Ὁ γὰρ χθὲς εὐπάρυφος πιναροῖς, ὡς ὁρᾷς, καὶ τρυχίνοις ῥακίοις τὴν αἰδῶ περισκέπω. ἀπέδυσε γάρ με Παταικίων ὁ παμπόνηρος, ὅς τὰ κέρματά με—εἶχον δέ, ὡς οἶσθα, ὑπόσυχνον ἀργύριον—δεξιαῖς χρώμενος ταῖς καλινδήσεσι τῶν κύβων ἄχρι δραχμῶν καὶ ὀβολῶν ἀπεσύλησεν.

3.6.1

I, who was finely dressed yesterday, cover my genitals—as you see—with squalid and tattered rags. He plundered me, that dastardly Pataikion, who, using lucky throws of the dice despoiled me (I had quite a lot of money, as you know) of cash—to my very drachmas and obols.

This parasite's material wealth 'yesterday' reflects the rewards imagined by Oenopniktes in letter 3.5. The first author anticipates that in the future he and his addressee will be arrayed in splendid clothing (λαμπρὰν ἐσθῆτα, 3.5.3) with their pockets full of money (χρυσοῦς … οὐκ ὀλίγους, 3.5.3), exactly as the second author was in the past. Rhagostrangisus' 'yesterday', in other words, is Oenopniktes' 'tomorrow'. The future, however, is not as rosy as the latter imagined it would be, for the parasitical success represented by Rhagostrangisus' prosperity is short-lived. The author of 3.6 tells us that through a pathetic lack of self-control he squandered his riches in a game of dice. Not only was the parasite fleeced of his money, but urged on by anger he bet every single item of his clothing until he was completely stripped bare:

Καθ' ἓν γὰρ ἕκαστον τῶν ἱματίων ἐκ προλήσεως ἀποτιθείς, τέλος ἁπάντων ἐψιλώθην τῶν ἐνδυμάτων.

3.6.2

On a challenge I staked my garments, one by one, and finally I was stripped of all my clothing.

So the sequence of letters 3.5–6 first subverts the reader's expectations only to then reaffirm them. Oenopniktes' success in bringing a *hetaira* to dinner where before him Hektodioktes had failed is undercut by future events that the former did not foresee.[25] As a parasite fated to be a washed-out loser, Oenopniktes' inescapable fate is represented by Rhagostrangisus' pitiful downfall.

25 Oenopniktes has not read Alciphron's Ἐπιστολαὶ Παρασίτων!

Now naked and cold, the composer of 3.6 ponders seeking refuge at the Cynosarges, where he hopes some rich young man may have mercy and clothe him. Should he not be so lucky, Rhagostrangisus has a second-best solution:

> Καταλήψομαι ἐγγύθεν τὰς καμίνους καὶ τῷ πυρὶ ὁ δύστηνος θάλψομαι· τοῖς γὰρ γυμνοῖς σισύρα καὶ ἐφεστρὶς ἡ φλὸξ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς εἵλης θέρεσθαι.[26]
>
> 3.6.3
>
> I will get the furnaces up-close for myself and I shall be warmed, wretched as I am, by the fire: for those who are naked the flame and the warming from the sun's heat are a cloak and an overcoat.

These closing references to fire and the sun's heat verbally echo Therippides' burning love for Klymene in the letter's companion piece (διακαῶς … τὸν ἔρωτα ἐκκεκαυμένον, 3.5.2). They also bring us back to the sundial in letter 3.1 via something of a thematic reversal: whereas for Trechedeipnus the sun's rays are a source of vexation in that they do not move the *gnomon* along quickly enough, for Rhagostrangisus they provide welcome warmth.

Ring composition, then, signals the end of book 3's opening 'sixquence', as does letter 3.7, whose author Psichoklastes ("Crumb-breaker") 'breaks' the chronological alternation by following up a 'yesterday' letter with yet another epistle recounting events that happened the day before, one of only two other letters[27] in the Ἐπιστολαὶ Παρασίτων besides 3.2, 4 and 6, whose narrative is explicitly set in the day before writing. In a further hint of this epistle's role as bookend, 3.7's chronological orientation is not marked by χθές, as all the 'yesterday' letters of Book 3's opening series are, but rather by τῇ προτεραίᾳ, which is conspicuously positioned as the missive's first words:

> Τῇ προτεραίᾳ ξυράμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐγὼ καὶ Στρουθίας καὶ Κύναιθος οἱ παράσιτοι, λουσάμενοι εἰς τὸ ἐν Σηραγγείῳ βαλανεῖον, ἀμφὶ τὴν πέμπτην ὥραν δρόμον ἀφέντες εἰς τὸ προάστειον τὸ Ἀγκυλῆσι τὸ Χαρικλέους τοῦ μειρακίου ᾠχόμεθα.
>
> 3.7.1

26 Following Hercher, Schepers deletes καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς εἵλης θέρεσθαι, presumably because it is a repetition, but as far as I can tell, the phrase appears in all the MSS. Although the phrase could be an interpolation going back to an earlier archetype, it seems rather drastic to excise it.

27 The other 'yesterday' letter is 3.17, on which see n. 16.

> Yesterday, having shaved our heads, we parasites—Struthias, Cynaethus and I, had a dip at the pool at the Serangium, and around the fifth hour we went at a running pace to the suburban home at Ancyle of the youth Charicles.

Thus Alciphron very clearly signals both the epistolary series and its endpoint at ἡ ἕκτη ἐπιστολή, a fitting *telos* that mirrors Trechedeipnus' anticipation of ἡ ἕκτη ὥρα. The book's sixth letter, then, represents the sixth hour—an analogy confirmed by letter 3.7, which describes events that occurred yesterday around the *fifth* hour. We are moving back in time once again.[28]

2 Finding Meaning in Time

Trechedeipnus' missive invariably appears in the manuscripts as the first epistle of our Book 3, suggesting that it came at the beginning of the Ἐπιστολαὶ Παρασίτων in the ancient authorial arrangement. For this reason, the missive merits close attention. Beginnings occupy a crucial role in any literary collection; the texts positioned at a book's start very often have a programmatic role to play by reflecting upon the author's literary project as well as conveying important thematic concerns of the work as a whole.[29] How, then, does 3.1 introduce Alciphron's book of parasite letters?

28 Does another mode of disposition begin after 3.7, or does the chronological scheme continue? The question is somewhat tricky, for there is variation in the transmission of the text immediately following Psichoklastes' missive: Neap.[a], Harl. and Ven. (all part of F1) transmit 3.9 after 3.7, whereas Γ and Vat.1 (both in F2) preserve 3.1–39 as an unbroken sequence. I am inclined towards the text transmitted by F2, for 3.8 seems to fit in well with the missives that follow: in 3.8 Gnathon complains about the good fortune of Gryllion, a parasite who is monopolising the attention of Athenian society to the detriment of his fellow κόλακες. The author muses that τύχη γὰρ παρὰ πάντα ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα (3.8.3), a statement that foregrounds a series of letters on good and bad luck.

29 Beard [2002: 127–128] demonstrates the meaningfulness of first position in the books of Cicero's letters. The epistles that open each *libellus* appear to have been carefully chosen by the editor to encapsulate the book's theme. Indeed *ad Atticum* 1.1, the first epistle of the whole published corpus, begins with the words *petitionis nostrae*, what Beard calls "a brilliantly appropriate overture to a collection of letters by a Roman whose career was defined (and ultimately ruined) by his tenure of the consulship". The importance of beginnings has also been discussed in relation to Hellenistic and Roman poetry books; see, for instance, Bing [2005] who explores the carefully wrought opening of Posidippus' βιβλίον. On the burden placed on all literary beginnings as well as their connection to other sorts of beginnings, such as initiations, see Said [1975].

Most obviously, Trechedeipnus' missive foregrounds the desperation and disappointment that pervade the Ἐπιστολαὶ Παρασίτων, especially when read together with its companion piece, letter 3.2. Hektodioktes' expression of his deflated hopes with which the missive ends (3.2.3, quoted above) stands not only for the plight of those chasing the sixth hour both in deed and in name, but for all of Book 3's letter writers to come, who in Alciphron's literary world are condemned to 'loserdom'. But what of Trechedeipnus' preoccupation with the passage of time? This chronological *topos* may be read as programmatic for Alciphron's literary project, working on several layers simultaneously to gesture at the epistolographer's literary influences and aims.

In the first place, Book 3's play on time serves as a macro-allusion to comedy, Alciphron's most important generic model. Trechedeipnus' temporal obsession is typical of comic κόλακες (indeed the letter is directly modelled on a scene from a lost comedy, the *Boiotia* of Menander[30]), and so it is especially appropriate and somewhat ironic that a book filled with letters written by parasites should be arranged (at least in part) chronologically. But this principle of organisation by time is also a sophisticated mediation upon the epistolary genre. In letter-writing, "time is of the essence", for missives are by nature chronologically complicated, conditioned as they are by several layers of time: the *erzählte Zeit*—the time of the action reported; the *Erzählzeit*—the time of narration; the lapse of time between an epistle's dispatch and its receipt (particularly long and often perilous in the ancient world[31]), and finally the moment when a travelling text is opened and read, which is by no means necessarily immediately.[32] Together these instalments of the epistolary process create a chronological gulf separating the addressee from the events narrated in a missive, appropriately called epistolary time.[33] Alciphron is making a joke of this conceit in 3.1. In the time it takes for a letter to be inscribed, delivered, opened and finally read, it might be the sixth hour or even later once Lopadecthambus reads Trechedeipnus' complaint and call to speed up dinnertime. That is, the future of an epistolary narrative may already be located in the past once a letter is delivered

30 Thus Gratwick [1979] who uses a fragment of the Plautine (according to Varro and Aulus Gellius—cf. *NA* 3.3.4) *Boeotia* and Alciphron's letter 3.1 to reconstruct Menander's lost play. *Pace* Anderson [1997: 2192–2193], who is sceptical of a specific allusion here, for "… the whole notion of the parasite as a figure entails clock-watching".

31 See Jenkins [2006: 39].

32 Indeed, the chronological interval between a letter's reception and reading is a source of tension and even danger in ancient epistolarity. For instance, in Plutarch's *Life of Pelopidas* (10.3–4) the Theban polemarch Archias delays reading a letter which tells of a conspiracy against him and ultimately pays for this decision with his life.

33 On epistolary time, see further Altman [1982: 123] and Rosenmeyer [2001a: 74–75].

and read, a time-delay mimicked by the couplets of Book 3's 'sixquence' in which the 'future' of each 'today' missive is realized in epistolary narratives set in 'yesterday'. The lapse that separates the *erzählte Zeit* from a missive's reception is built into the text's arrangement, a clever disposition foregrounded by Trechedeipnus' letter. Despite, then, the paucity of explicit epistolary markers in Alciphron's oeuvre and particularly in his third book,[34] the author acknowledges his generic frame by engaging in a very artful way with one of the most pervasive and thorny epistolary conventions. After all, as Beard puts it, "[t]he exchange of letters always revolves around the temporal distance that separates writing and receipt [...] letters and letter collections must, at some level, always be *about time*."[35]

Finally, Book 3's chronological connections reflect the aspirations of Alciphron's literary project writ large. The author's choice of the epistolary medium is a deeply significant one. By virtue of a letter's ability to effect communication between separated correspondents and to embody the absent composer via the ancient conceit of *sermo absentium*,[36] post-classical authors employ epistles as a means of transporting the reader to a different place and time.[37] Alciphron's missives of fishermen, farmers, parasites and courtesans take us back to the cultural milieu of classical Athens, an enterprise enacted, as it were, in the time-bending *topos* of letters 3.1–7. Whereas Trechedeipnus wishes to turn the clock forward, Alciphron wishes to turn it back, and indeed with every second epistle the reader is brought back in time to 'yesterday'—or at least ostensibly. For as I have argued, a close reading of these texts reveals that 'yesterday' is really 'tomorrow', and so perhaps we should read the series' chronological disposition as subverting Alciphron's sophistic exercise, ultimately implying its futility. Like those of his letter-writers, Alciphron's aspirations are doomed to failure.[38]

34 Rosenmeyer [2001a: 272]: "The parasites' letters are the least epistolary of the entire collection, as they rarely even sustain the fiction of an addressee or a letter context."

35 Beard [2002: 128].

36 On this epistolary *topos*, see Thraede [1970].

37 Thus Höschele [2012].

38 Compare König [2007] on Alciphron's world as one in which the impossibility of the characters' aspirations as well as the preciousness of epistolary communication *per se* that is analogous to it are "matched by the inaccessibility and unreality of Alciphron's world for its readers" (257).

CHAPTER 4

Echoes of Stress-Based Rhythms in the *Letters of Fishermen*: Poetic, Rhetoric and Structural Aspects

Michèle Biraud

The first three centuries of the Empire saw the development of a new poetics of prose, *a poetics based on the rhythm produced by the intervals between stress-accented syllables*. This new rhythm, which came to replace the alternating quantities, appeared after the change in the nature of the accent (which ceased to be a pitch accent). This metamorphosis was already complete by the end of the Hellenistic period in the pronunciation of a large number of Greek speakers. However this advanced pronunciation was employed among lettered people, at least until the fourth century, in conjunction with the traditional pronunciation (it is likely that educated people had a double phonological competence). In these circumstances, giving a text rhythm with stress accents meant making a choice of aesthetics that would be accessible to the widest public. Indeed, this is the type of rhythm that I have observed in many passages contained within novels by Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus and Longus,[1] as well as certain hymns,[2] the satirical trimeters of the *Garland* of Philip[3] and Babrius' *Fables*,[4] and the humorous stories of Philogelos.[5]

A previous study of a dozen short letters in Alciphron's Book 2[6] enabled me to discover that accentual rhythmic echoes between the ends of *cola* run through them, like woven threads that transform them into a sort of prose poem. I now propose to examine the whole of the first book to determine whether these recurring accentual rhythms serve to place rhetorical emphasis on the beginnings and ends of periods or whether they have rather a poetic function (the tight weaving of a few echoes). Then I intend to see if the various degrees of rhythmicity contribute to the internal organisation of the book, in agreement with other formal criteria such as equality between the numbers

1 Biraud [2013b, 2009 and 2012].
2 Biraud [2013a and 2014a].
3 Biraud [forthcoming 2019b].
4 Biraud [forthcoming 2019a].
5 Biraud [forthcoming 2019c].
6 Biraud [2010].

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of words, stressed words or syllables, and finally if this more or less rhythmic development may be related to the question as to how cultivated each writer was, or to the genres (prose or verse) which inspired Alciphron. I have chosen Book 1 for this new study because the order of letters seems to be the same in all manuscripts (in some manuscripts there is only one omission in the middle),[7] there are very few proven gaps in the letters, and more often than not the textual variants or proposed corrections do not affect the accentual rhythm.

Before turning to the study of Book 1, I will explain what a rhythm linked to stress accent is, and when writers first began to use it, as I discovered during my research over the last few years, and I shall describe how it manifests itself and in what conditions it seems to me certain that we can recognise a real intention to use it. Then the study of the stress-based rhythm within the corpus will lead to some hypotheses about the book's structure and the motivations behind the use of these *clausulae*.

1 What Was a Stress-Based Rhythm in the Second Century AD?

1.1 *The Beginnings of Stress-Based Rhythm*

The phonetic evolutions in the Hellenistic period removed the oppositions of vocalic duration at the same time as they modified the nature of the accent. Greek moved from a pitch accent to a stress accent: since vowels in stressed syllables are pronounced longer, this presented the new possibility of setting a heavy (long) syllable (concerned by the accent) over a light (short) syllable (without an accent). These evolutions occurred more or less quickly according to the social groups, but by the beginning of the Empire, most Greek speakers had assimilated this phonological change. All learned men also knew how to practice the ancient mode of diction, which remained in effect among Homerists and rhetoricians.

According to the works of phoneticians,[8] this evolution probably began at the end of the 4th century BC for the Athenians whose phonological system evolved most rapidly,[9] and by the middle of the 2nd century BC in the ptolemaic

7 According to the classification in families of manuscripts established by Schepers, family x^1 gives the entire series, but Alciphr. 1.14 is missing in family x and Alciphr. 1.12 in family x^2, while *Neap*[b] transmits only the first twelve letters.

8 See especially Devine & Stephens [1994: 350–375], and the synthesis of Probert [2003: 3–11].

9 Teodorsson [1978: 96].

koine.[10] I found marks that I consider to be indisputable evidence of the use of this new rhythm related to the stress accent in certain epigrams of Philodemus, the Epicurean philosopher, consisting also of elegiac couplets according to the old metrics;[11] thus, one could give *two oral performances for two audiences with different cultural levels*. In Chariton's and Longus' novels, some passages are punctuated by the old metrics, whereas others use this new metrics related to stress-accent.[12]

Only the significant words of a syntactic group (verbs and nouns, adjectives and adverbs) have a stress accent, while their satellites (articles and prepositions) generally do not. Other non-lexical words must be considered as unstressed, too: monosyllabic conjunctions, simple relative pronouns, the negation μή, and particles.[13]

It follows from this phonological evolution that rhythm is now linked to the *intervals* between the intensively stressed syllables, and that there are *echoes*

10 Teodorsson [1977: 253–254]. The first clear signs of the possibility of this phonetic mutation are the spelling mistakes in epigraphic and papyrological texts that involve, in the language of their authors, the loss of oppositions of vowel length. L.D. Stephens ([1985] and [1988]) explained this by stating that the majority of speakers of the Greek Hellenistic kingdoms did not have Greek as their mother tongue and that it is difficult to learn to modulate a *melodic* accent in a foreign language if one is accustomed to an *intensive* pronunciation of the accent. This development seems to have taken place in the language spoken by the least educated population from the 2nd century BC and not five centuries later, as was thought until recent decades because cultivated men still practiced classical quantitative rhythm in the 4th century AD.

11 "Découverte d'une possibilité de diction selon le rythme accentuel d'épigrammes de Philodème de Gadara", communication au Congrès de la Fédération Internationale des Études Classiques (FIEC, Bordeaux), août 2014.

12 Biraud [2016] and [2017].

13 However, the practice of Modern Greek shows that in the case of disyllabic prepositions, their accent is not non-existent when it is a certain number of syllables removed from the accent of the name, and perhaps the same was true in antiquity. For more about the absence of the accentuation of monosyllabic conjunctions and simple relative pronouns, certain particles and pronouns, see Vendryes [1938: §69–75, 99, 119], Maas [1966: §135], Lejeune [1972: §348–349, 368], and Probert [2003: 133–141]. According to each of these scholars, no-one accented particles such as γάρ, μέν, δέ, nor conjunctions like καί, ἀλλά, ἤ, or the negative words οὐ, μή, οὐδέ and μηδέ. On the contrary, the first syllable of οὔτε, μήτε or ὅστις received an acute according to the rule of "proclitic followed by enclitic". If the coordinating words do not seem to have been accented, it is likely that καί, when it was being used in an adverbial sense, (meaning "even", or "too") was accented, as well as οὐδέ, in the insisting sense of "not … either". It was probably the same for a negative word used as a predicate (in this case, even οὐ is accented). For argumentative particles, such as δή and οὖν, it is likely they were stressed or not according to their argumentative force.

of rhythmic sequences where there is a recurrence of identical intervals. Transforming the notion of a metric *clausula*, one can create stress-rhythmic echoes between the endings of *cola*, phrases, sentences, and periods. In these stress-related *clausulae*, if you want to estimate the rhythmic effect of the echo, you have to take into account the position of the last accent and the interval between the two last accents.

1.2 *How Does Stress-Based Rhythm Manifest Itself and under What Conditions Can We Recognise the Intention to Use it?*

We can of course study the rhythm of a complete sentence, but it has been known for a long time[14] that the ornate prose of the end of the Empire[15] predominantly used echoes between *cola* and periods, and that the important factor was to examine the place of the last accent and the interval between the last two accents (sometimes the last three or four if the *clausula* is particularly 'rich'). If we take into account only the last two accents, there are only a dozen frequent *clausulae* (see Table 4.1).[16]

TABLE 4.1 Frequent stress-based clausulae

Accent on final syllable	… on penultimate syllable	… on antepenultimate syllable
010	0101	0102
020	0201	0202
030	0301	0302
040	0401	0402

An echoing between two intervals of five unaccented syllables sometimes occurs, but really it is only from one to four unaccented syllables that the ear perfectly hears the rhythm. The number of *clausulae* is, however, slightly increased by the fact that sometimes certain *cola* end with two successive accents (e.g. 2001).

14 Cf. Meyer [1885 and 1891]. See a brief presentation of Meyer's works in Allen [1973: 260–270], Probert [2003: 7–10], and a detailed one in Klock [1987: 219–260].

15 This has been proven about texts by authors of the fourth century: Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa and Himerius.

16 In the series of numbers, I denote the syllables carrying a stress accent with 0; other figures indicate the number of unstressed syllables between the stressed syllables. I called *clausula* the punctuated end of each *colon* (not only of each period) in the same way that some scholars call *clausulae* specific verse endings.

The limited number of these stress-based *clausulae* implies that, if a reader finds entertainment in looking for echoes of them in Euripides' tragedies, he will find some, while the pronunciation of the language at this time excludes the possibility that this was intentional. To achieve solid conclusions, I had to develop strict criteria to guarantee the validity of the intention to accentuate the text according to this pronunciation.

– We must first not exceed four concomitant echoes in the same textual unit (the limit of the capacity of working memory).
– The presence of *rare* rhythmic echoes (e.g. the stress pattern 03002, with two consecutive stressed syllables) gives more strength to the hypothesis, and so does the presence of *particularly long* rhythmic echoes (e.g. in the first letter, an echoing sequence of fifteen syllables and four accents 4030302; cf. Table 4.11).
– In order for the rhythmic weaving to be considered poetic, it must affect at least 80 % of the total number of *cola*. These are either in echoes in the same textual unit or manifest in an identifiable structure: repetition (e.g. 020202), or palindromic movement[17] (e.g. 203010302).
– What is most important is that it is necessary for the rhythmic arrangement to be consistent with the meaning of the text: either in each new unit of sense, a series of new (or at least partially new) echoes should appear (e.g. the scheme abacbc/bdcdee); or the second unit takes up the series of echoes from the first unit, with variations (e.g. abcc/bcaac).
– The care taken in the development of the text implies that attention is given to other formal concerns, in particular that there should be balanced ratios between the different parts of the text, i.e. that they have approximately the same number of syllables (isosyllaby, *parisōsis*) or stressed syllables (isotony).

Of course, there are also two elementary prerequisites: we have to verify that the echoes are not in fact *pitch*-related (in the *ancient* pronunciation) and carefully establish the text, which is not always easy in the case of Alciphron, given the diversity of variant readings in word order and even in the order of *cola*. The risk is still small because, most often, the variants between manuscripts, or plausible corrections, have the same number of syllables with the accent on the same syllables; hence this has no effect on the measurement of the *clausulae*.

17 A rhythm is palindromic when the rhythm is the same if we read the phrase from beginning to end or from end to beginning. If one abstracts from the last syllable, it is for example the case in the following sentence (1.12): Ἥτις, δέον αἰσχύνεσθαι κορικῶς, ἀπέξυσαι τὴν αἰδῶ τοῦ προσώπου (01020401040201).

TABLE 4.2 Metric clausulae in Book 1

Kind of clausulae	Percentage
ditrochee	19,5
hypodochmius	11
cretic-spondee	11
spondee-cretic	8,5
double cretic	10
dispondee	6
Total	**66**
heroic *clausula*	8,5
double dactyl	3,75
scheme with choriamb	14,75
succession of short vowels	7
Total	**34**

I have not yet mentioned the possible presence of metric *clausulae* related to the ancient pronunciation. This is primarily because the end of a sentence can *by chance* have a popular *clausula*: prosodic schemes of ditrochee and dispondee have a one-in-eight chance of being realised, while schemes of *hypodochmius* and sequences of 'cretic-spondee' or 'spondee-cretic' have one chance in sixteen. For a hundred *clausulae*, the existence of five to seventeen ditrochees therefore falls within the statistical expectation. See in Table 4.2 the percentages of *clausulae* for the eighty ends of periods of Book 1.

The first six lines of Table 4.2 present the *clausulae* appreciated by rhetoricians. They remain almost within the statistical expectation except for the double cretic (used three times more than expected); the ratio (3/1) between the number of ditrochees (an appreciated *clausula* although considered easy) and dispondees (a *clausula* considered dull except in cases where it is employed to produce a particular effect) also shows the search for a certain rhythmic elegance. Obviously, the author has learned to compose prose adorned with metric *clausulae*.[18] However, a third of these *clausulae* are either arrhythmic (the

18 For example, Alciphr. 1.1 (the introductory epistle) is quite meticulous from that point of view: among the four periods, the first one ends with two double cretics at the ends of both of the last *cola*, the following ones respectively with a ditrochee, a 'spondee-cretic'

series of five or six vowels) or poetic schemes, the use of which is excluded in ornate prose (the double dactyl, the heroic *clausula*,[19] or the rhythmic scheme including choriamb, either alone or associated with cretic or spondee). Even if we accept that some sentence endings are not metric, a third of them being so is clearly a sign of negligence.

Moreover, if we look within the sentences, there are, at the end of some cola, a few half-pentameters,[20] and some iambic and glyconic schemes[21] that a good classical prose writer would censure. In these circumstances, it is legitimate to ask whether, while aiming to provide a minimum of satisfaction to the ears of any erudite readers, Alciphron was not addressing above all the widest readership of his time, that is to say ordinary people who were moderately educated and spoke with the stress accent. This is even more likely given that, although the style of certain letters is rather developed, we do not find the woven threads of metric *clausulae* that we read, for example, in some "poetic scenes" of Plutarch or Longus;[22] the only exception in Book 1 is the first period of 1.10, which we shall discuss at the end of this study.

1.3 *Three Examples of Letters Using Echoes between the Endings of Cola*

Here are three examples of the functioning of these echoes between the endings of *cola*:[23] Alciphr. 1.22 (see Table 4.3) has a completely poetic arrangement (an equal number of stressed words in each period—i.e. isotony—, *parisōsis*,

scheme and a 'cretic-spondee' sequence. In Alciphr. 1.4 (regarding the insistence of a husband for his wife to come home), the third development is framed by two instances of the hypodochmius (… παθοῦσα, ὦ γύναι and ἀπατηλῶν θεαμάτων).

19 Particularly a heroic *clausula* even *in the last words* of Alciphr. 1.9 (ἔργον ἔδειξεν), 1.11 (κλυδώνιον ὤσω) and 1.15 (πολυτελῆ νεανίσκον). And we also read a double dactyl at the very end of 1.14 (λυσιτελέστερον), and even four dactyls at the end of the first sentence of Alciphr. 1.20 (φθαρήσεται ὁ σκοπιωρὸς ὁ Λέσβιος)!

20 E.g. in Alciphr. 1.6 (end of *colon* 21: οὔτε θέλεις διδόναι) and 1.11 (end of *colon* 17: κρήνης ἀπονιψαμένας).

21 E.g. in Alciphr. 1.3 (*colon* 7: καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ μαθών), 1.6 (the last eight syllables of *colon* 27: ἢ πέπαυσο τῆς ἀγερωχίας); in Alciphr. 1.6, we even read an iambic dimeter followed by a glyconic (ἀλλ' ὡς ἀφηλικέστερος καὶ γυναικὶ πάλαι συνών).

22 Biraud [2014b] and [2017].

23 Unless otherwise stated, I follow the revised editions by Schepers and by Benner and Fobes whenever they agree. On the other hand, I have established the *punctuation* myself according to a delimitation of periods based on *my own* isosyllabic and isotonic criteria (high punctuation at the end of a period, and middle punctuation inside periods when sentences are bound by particles, especially before the explanatory and conclusive clauses). My other textual choices or conjectures appear in notes ad loc.

TABLE 4.3 Echoes of stress-based rhythms in Alciphr. 1.22

	Cola[a]	Formula	Syll.	Acc.
1	Τηνάλλως ποιεῖ[ς] τὴν πρός με νουθεσίαν, ὦ Εὔπλοε.	10201030*202*	16	5
2	ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀποσταίην τῆς ἀνθρώπου	1050*301*	13	3
3	θεῷ μυσταγωγοῦντι	10*301*	07	2
4	πυρφόρῳ καὶ τοξοφόρῳ πειθόμενος.	1040*202*	12	3
Total			*48*	*13*
5	καὶ ἄλλως ἡμῖν τὸ ἐρᾶν συγγενές,	10103020	11	4
6	τῆς θαλαττίας θεοῦ	3020	07	2
7	τεκούσης τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον.	1010*301*	09	3
8	ἡμέτερος οὖν πρὸς μητρὸς ὁ Ἔρως.	103010101	11	4
Total			*38*	*13*
9	καὶ ὑπὸ τούτου βληθεὶς τὴν καρδίαν	3020201	11	3
10	ἔχω πρὸς θαλάττῃ τὴν κόρην,	030201	09	3
11	Πανόπῃ νομίζων ἢ Γαλατείᾳ	102010201	11	4
12	ταῖς καλλιστευούσαις τῶν Νηρηίδων συνεῖναι.	4040201	14	3
Total			*45*	*13*

a In all tables, the first column describes the accentual rhythm, the second contains the number of syllables, and the third the number of accented words.

and rhythmic echoes in the scheme abba ccbe dddd),[24] while in Alciphr. 1.11 and Alciphr. 1.17, echoes are limited to the framing of the two periods.

Sometimes, for example in Alciphr. 1.11,[25] there is no remarkable isosyllaby or isotony between periods,[26] but echoes of *clausulae* nevertheless frame them (see Table 4.4).

24 Only the end of the eighth *colon* is devoid of echoes. However, this *colon* as a whole has a regular uneven rhythm (103010101), which is interesting in itself.

25 Alciphr. 1.11: *Period* I: from Οὐκέτ᾽ εἰμὶ ἐν ἐμαυτῇ, ὦ μῆτερ (0101) to Ὠσχοφορίων ὄντων (0101). *Period* II: from καλὸς γάρ ἐστι, καλός, ὦ μῆτερ, καὶ ἥδιστος (0202) to καταλαμπόμενος φαίνεται (0202). *Period* III: from τὸ δὲ ὅλον πρόσωπον αὔτου (0201) ἐνορχεῖσθαι ταῖς παρειαῖς εἴποις ἂν τὰς Χάριτας (0302) to ἀποσυλήσας τῶν κόλπων (0201) διήνθισται ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων ἐπιθέμενος (0302). *Period* IV: from ἢ τούτῳ μιγήσομαι (0202) to εἰς τὸ κλυδώνιον ὤσω (0201).

26 But, in the last period, when the girl evokes Sappho, three of the five *cola* are *hendecasyllables* (ἢ τούτῳ μιγήσομαι [7] ἢ τὴν Λεσβίαν μιμησαμένη Σαπφὼ [11] οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς Λευκάδος πέτρας [9], ἀλλ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν Πειραϊκῶν προβόλων [11] ἐμαυτὴν εἰς τὸ κλυδώνιον ὤσω [11]), which recalls the *Sapphic hendecasyllable*, a verse considered typical of passionate love (see Morgan [2010: 181–283]). Of course, here the analogy is limited to the number of syllables and does not take into account the rhythm.

TABLE 4.4 Isosyllaby and isotony of periods in Alciphr. 1.11

Period	Opening	Ending	Syll.	Ac.
I	*30101*	*30101*	96	26
II	0202	0202	85	24
III	0201[a]—*0302*	0201	81	20
IV	*0302*—0202	0201	49	13

a This accentuation of the anaphoric pronoun αὔτου corresponds to an enclitic employment (or "unemphatic" according to the views of Allen [1973: 243]). It is common knowledge that there was an accented series and an atonic series for first and second person singular pronouns; various testimonies (the remarks of Apollonius Dyscolus and Herodian, the accentuation of verse endings uttered by Babrius, who practices the constraint of setting a stress on the penultimate in his *scazon* trimeters, and the spellings of some papyri—data compiled by Vendryes [1945: § 103–104]) show that the phenomenon extended to six persons, and since ancient times. For forms that exceed three *morae*, the enclitic is considered an orthotonic word and is accentuated by marking the accent as high as possible (ἥμας, ἥμων, ὕμιν, αὔτων, αὔταις …). It is the syntactic role of the pronoun in this sentence that leads me to consider it "enclitic" or "unemphatic".

In Alciphr. 1.17, the rhythmic ending 101 finishes the first *cola* of both parts,[27] and the pair of echoes 0402 and 20301[28] closes the two parts. Concerning the number of syllables, the first part is twice as long as the second (see Table 4.5).

2 Studies of Letters

2.1 *From Rhetorical Emphasis to Poeticizing*

We shall now observe, by studying letter 16, the two uses of echoes of accentual rhythm between the endings of *cola* in different parts of the same letter.[29]

27 Between them, the ending 0301 marks the beginning (… κτῆμα γεγονέναι) and end (… ἀποσχισθῆναι τῶν πλεγμάτων) of the second sentence, and the ending 0101 (… βουληθέντος μεῖναι) marks the beginning of the next sentence.

28 Like Schepers, I consider the final ἔρρωσο, which is not present in Books 1, 2 and 3, to be a later addition.

29 Schepers and Benner and Fobes associate *cola* 12 and 13 in the same interrogative clause. With Ozanam [1999], I propose that the thirteenth *colon* should be detached and given an

TABLE 4.5 Rhythmic endings of periods in Alciphr. 1.17

1st period	*beginning*	Ἠρόμην	*101*
	end	… μηδενὸς τῶν ἐνοικούντων	20301
		… θιγγάνειν ἐπιχειρήσαντος.	0402
2nd period	*beginning*	… ἐκείνων μόνον	*101*
	end	… ἥκιστα ζημιούμενος,	0402
		… ἕτοιμος ἔσο πρὸς τὴν δόσιν.	020301

Alciphr. 1.16 has an elaborate construction (see Table 4.6), with isotony (periods I+II = III+IV = 47/46 stressed words) and *parisōsis* (periods I+II = III+IV = 151+/-5 syllables). In periods I–III, the only echoes are those of the *clausulae* at the ends of sentences: 0302 at the end of *cola* 5 and 6, 0202 at the end of *cola* 9 and 12, and 0401 at the end of *cola* 15 and 16. On the other hand, in the last period, all the *cola* endings except one echo each other (abccdab).

Similarly, four of the five periods[30] of Alciphr. 1.6 (see Table 4.7) end with the same *clausula* 0201, as well as the first *cola* of periods I and III. The first *cola* of periods IV and V conclude with the *clausula* 0301. The end of the first *colon* in the second period (020) is the same as that of the penultimate *colon* of the first period. Periods II and IV firstly, and secondly III and V, are practically isosyllabic and almost isotonic.

This already well developed organisation culminates in the fourth period (see Table 4.8). We can observe a maximal density of echoes (with the repetition of four rhythmic endings for eight *cola*, the three endings already in use since the first period, and a rhythm 0102).

Furthermore, we may find another poetic embellishment: In Alciphr. 1.6, there is a repeated rhythm *within* some *cola* (ἀγαθῆς δὲ μητρὸς γεγονυῖαν: 2020201; ἐπὶ παίδων ἀρότῳ γνησίων συνῆψάν σοι γάμῳ: 20202020201). This was also the case with *colon* 12 of letter 16 (ἔρως ἐνέσκηψε καὶ ἐντακεὶς οὐκ ἀνίησιν: 0202020202), which closes the first half of this letter.

assertive status. In *colon* 15, it is possible to suppress the adverb νῦν, the statement in the present tense being sufficient to create (or restore) the echo of *clausulae* between the last two *cola* of the period.

30 Alciphr. 1.6: *Period I*: from Ἡγάγου με, ὦ Εὐθύβολε, οὐκ ἀπερριμμένην γυναῖκα (0201) to μητρὸς γεγονυῖαν (0201). *Period II*: from Σωσθένης ὁ Στειριεὺς ἦν μοι πατὴρ to ἐρᾷς τῆς Ἑρμιονί[τι]δος μετοίκου (0201). *Period III*: from Ἦν ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν ἐρώντων (0201) to ἀναλοῖ Χαρύβδεως δίκην (0201). *Period IV*: from Σὺ δὲ ὑπερβαίνων τὰς ἁλιευτικὰς δωροφορίας (0301) to καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ χρυσίον εἰσπέμπεις (0201). *Period V*: from Ἢ πέπαυσο τῆς ἀγερωχίας (0301) to the end.

TABLE 4.6 Echoes of stressed-based rhythms in Alciphr. 1.16

	Cola	Formula	Syll.	Acc.
1	Εἰ μέν τι δύνασαι συμπράττειν,	1010301	9	3
2	καὶ δῆτα λέγε πρός με,	1010101	7	3
3	οὐ πρὸς ἑτέρους ἔκπυστα ποιῶν τἀμά·	30103010	12	4
4	εἰ δὲ μηδὲν οἷός τε εἶ ὠφελεῖν,	30101020	11	4
5	γενοῦ μοι τὰ νῦν Ἀρεοπαγίτου στεγανώτερος.	102040302	16	4
6	ἐγὼ δὲ ὅπῃ ποτὲ τἀμά σοι διηγήσομαι.	10102010302	15	5
Total			***70***	***23***
7	Ἔρως με οὐκ ἐᾷ παρεμπεσὼν	04030	10	3
8	ὑπὸ τοῦ λογισμοῦ κυβερνᾶσθαι,	1030201	10	3
9	ἀλλὰ τὸ νῆφον ἐν ἐμοὶ συνεχῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους βυθίζεται·	3030203*0202*	20	5
10	πόθεν γάρ ποτ(ε) εἰς ἁλιέα δύστηνον	0104*0102*	12	4
11	ἀγαπητῶς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν ἐκπορίζοντα διατροφὴν	30303050	18	4
12	Ἔρως ἐνέσκηψε καὶ ἐντακεὶς οὐκ ἀνίησιν;	*0202020202*	15	5
Total			***85***	***24***
13	Ἀλλ' ἴσα τοῖς πλουσίοις καὶ ὡρικοῖς νεανίσκοις φλέγομαι,	1030402*0102*	18	5
14	καὶ ὅ ποτε γελῶν τοὺς ἐκ τρυφῆς πάθει δουλεύοντας	1030 30*0202*	16	5
15	ὅλος εἰμὶ τοῦ πάθους καὶ γαμησείω [νῦν],	02010401[0]	13	4
16	καὶ τὸν Ὑμέναιον ἐκφαντάζομαι τὸν παῖδα τῆς Τερψιχόρης.	0204030401	19	5
Total			***66***	***19***
17	Ἔστι δὲ ἡ παῖς ἧς ἐρῶ	03020	8	3
18	τὸ τῶν μετοίκων θυγάτριον τῶν ἐξ Ἑρμιόνης	302020301	15	4
19	οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εἰς Πειραιᾶ φθαρέντων·	1004*0101*	11	4
20	ἄλλην μὲν οὖν δοῦναι προῖκ(α) οὐκ ἔχω·	02001*0101*	10	5
21	ἐμαυτὸν δὲ δείξας οἷός εἰμι θαλαττουργός,[a]	20102050	14	4
22	εἰ μὴ μαίνοιτο ὁ ταύτης πατήρ,	203020	10	3
23	οἶμαι παρέξειν ἐπιτήδειον νυμφίον.	02030301	13	4
Total			***81***	***27***

a In οἷός εἰμι, as a word can carry only one stress and the only option for this *stress* group is proparoxytone, the *stress* accent is necessarily on the final syllable of οἷός.

TABLE 4.7 Clausulae in Alciphr. 1.6

Period	Opening	Ending	Syll.	Acc.
I	*0201*	020—*0201*	44	11
II	020	*0201*	104	31
III	*0201*	*0201*	61	16
IV	0301—0301	*0201*	105	29
V	0301	0102	63	19

TABLE 4.8 Echoes of stress-based rhythms in Alciphr. 1.6

Cola	Formula
Σὺ δὲ ὑπερβαίνων τὰς ἁλιευτικὰς δωροφορίας	03060301
μαινίδας μὲν ἢ τρίγλας	10301
οὔτε φέρεις οὔτε θέλεις διδόναι,	01010*10201*
ἀλλ' ὡς ἀφηλικέστερος καὶ γυναικὶ πάλαι συνὼν	5050020
καὶ παιδίων οὐ μάλα νηπίων πατὴρ	20202020
παραγκωνίσασθαι τοὺς ἀντεραστὰς βουλόμενος,	3060*102*
κεκρυφάλους Μιλησίους καὶ Σικελικὸν ἱμάτιον	203050*102*
καὶ ἐπ'αὐτῷ χρυσίον εἰσπέμπεις.	30*10201*

2.2 *Clausulae and the Choice between Textual Variants*

Given that the density of *clausulae* echoing within the five letters already studied leaves no doubt about the deliberate intention to use this rhythmic process, we can deduce that at times it is the possibility or impossibility of establishing such echoes that guides the choice between variant readings or conjectures that may affect the order of words or their shape, the order of *cola*, and the possible existence of gaps.

Thus, Alciphr. 1.7 is a very short letter, in two well-balanced sentences from the perspective of isosyllaby (46/49 syllables) and isotony (16/14 stressed words); in addition, both trios of *cola* are almost isosyllabic (11-15-20/12-17-20).

Under these conditions, 100% of *cola* endings could be expected to echo. And this is the case, except for the fourth and the last (302—302—*102*[31]—

31 The last word of the third *colon* is κατεάγῃ or κατεάγετο according manuscripts. Schep-

TABLE 4.9 Echoes of stress-based rhythms in Alciphr. 1.7

Cola	**Formula**	**Syll.**	**Acc.**
ἔπεμψά σοι ψῆτταν καὶ σανδάλιον	0101**0302**	11	4
καὶ κεστρέα καὶ κήρυκας πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα,	20202**0302**	15	4
σὺ δ'ἐμοὶ τῶν ἐρετμῶν δύο πέμψον,	010300101		
ἐπειδὴ τἀμὰ κατέαγεν.	201***0102***	20	8
Total		***46***	***16***
ἀντίδοσις γὰρ [ἡ] παρὰ φίλων εἰς φίλους.	1050201	12	3
ὁ γὰρ προχείρως καὶ θαρσαλέως αἰτῶν εὔδηλός ἐστιν	30402***00102***	17	5
ὡς ἅπαντα κοινὰ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους			
καὶ τὰ τῶν φίλων ἔχειν ἡγούμενος/*ἡγεῖται.*	030304010201/2	20	6
Total		***49***	***14***

201—***102***—202). However, the last word (ἡγούμενος in the manuscripts) raises a syntactic problem. The text we read in most manuscripts leads us to think of the following construction: εὔδηλός ἐστιν introduces the participle, which itself is completed by the infinitive ἔχειν governing the direct object τὰ πρὸς τ φ κ τ τ φ and the predicate of this object, ὡς ἅπαντα κοινὰ. Yet an alternative analysis is possible: εὔδηλός ἐστιν would govern an object clause introduced by ὡς (whose verb must be in the indicative, which would lead us to expect the form ἡγεῖται at the end of the sentence), the object of ἔχειν would be ἅπαντα τὰ πρὸς τ φ κ τ τ φ and the predicate of this object κοινὰ. In this case, the rhythm of the *clausula* ἔχειν ἡγεῖται is 0201, echoing with that of the fourth *colon*; and all *cola* are echoing. Could we assume that Alciphron chose the latter construction, and that a copyist who linked ὡς to ἅπαντα κοινὰ was induced to 'correct' the indicative ἡγεῖται and transpose it into a participle (ἡγούμενος)?

Alciphr. 1.1 also demonstrates isotony between the four periods[32] (32—34—32—34 stressed words) and a *parisōsis* (111 to 127 syllables). In the first half of

ers and Benner & Fobes followed a proposal from Valckenaer, who restored the form of perfect active with a passive sense attested in Aristophanes, Plato and Lysias.

32 Alciphr. 1.1: *Period* I: from Χρηστὴν ἡμῖν ἡ θάλαττα τὸ τήμερον (0301) to τὰ δὲ εἴσω ἀνοιδοῦντα ἐρρήγνυτο (0202). *Period* II: from καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς ᾐόσι καταλαβόντες καλύβια (0202) to πλοῦτον ἀθρόον ἀγαθῶν ἔδειξεν (03002). *Period* III: from ὡς γὰρ ὤφθη μὲν ὁ ἥλιος (0302) to κατασῦραι ὑφάλους ἐξωγκωμένον τὸ δίκτυον (0202). *Period IV*: from εὐθὺς οὖν ὀψῶναι πλησίον, καὶ τὰς ἀσίλλας ἐπωμίους ἀνελόμενοι (0302) to the end.

TABLE 4.10 Clausulae in Alciphr. 1.1

Period	Opening	Ending	Syll.	Ac.
I	0302—0202	0302—0202	127	32
II	0202—0302	0202—03002	121	34
III	0302—0302	0302—0202	111	32
IV	0302—0302	0202—0302	130	34

the text, recurring *clausulae* 0302 and 0202 are at the end of only twelve among twenty *cola*, and their association primarily emphasises the beginnings and endings of two periods.

On the contrary, in the second part (see Table 4.11), four *clausulae* (including the previous two) appear in a cluster of echoes at the end of seventeen among eighteen *cola* (aabbcacb aabbxdddba). Some of these echoes span nine to fifteen syllables, which cannot be due to chance. Here are the details of the study of this second part.[33]

However, the proposal of such a rhythmic reading is based on certain textual choices:

- At the end of *colon* 37, I retain the middle voice ἐπιλάβοιτο of the manuscripts (although contested by Schepers) in order to preserve a proparoxytone *clausula* at the end of the penultimate *colon* of each period.
- At the end of the letter, the last word, ἐμφορῆσαι according to most manuscripts (i.e. the version privileged by Benner and Fobes), is a surprising aorist active: the middle voice would give the expected meaning "to gorge", or "to be fed"; thus Schepers (following the *Parisinus* 1696) suggests correcting this to ἐμφορηθῆναι, the most common form of the middle voice for this infinitive in the classical period, but there is also an aorist ἐνεφορησάμην of the same value (one occurrence in the works of Dion, three in Diodorus, one in Galen, two in Pausanias, three in Philo) the infinitive of which, ἐμφορήσασθαι, seems

33 *Colon* 24: ἔργων in the manuscripts, ἔργου Hirscher. *Colon* 35: λεπτοτέρων is a necessary correction by Bergler of λεπτομέρων in the manuscripts. *Colon* 29: the manuscripts of family x have ὕλας, others ειλας; Hemsterhuys proposed the exact technical term ἀσίλλας (a stick balanced on the shoulders at the ends of which are hung two containers). Another correction, at the end of *colon* 26, can result in a *clausula* of the form 0302 (ἰχθύων, correction by Bergler) and not of the form 0202 (ἰχθῦν or ἰχθύν in manuscripts); whether one or the other of these *clausulae*, it agrees with one of the two rhythmic dominants of the text; the plural form gives a more satisfying sense in this context.

TABLE 4.11 Echoes of stressed-based rhythms in Alciphr. 1.1 (2nd part)

	Cola	Formula	Syll.	Acc.
III				
21	Ὡς γὰρ ὤφθη μὲν ὁ ἥλιος,	20302	09	2
22	πρώτη δὲ ἀκτὶς εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀπέστιλβε,	03020302	14	4
23	τὸ πρῴην νεωλκηθὲν σκαφίδιον σπουδῇ κατεσύραμεν,	10401030202	18	5
24	εἶτ’ ἐνθέμενοι τὰ δίκτυα ἔργου εἰχόμεθα·	0103020202	15	5
25	μικρὸν δὲ ἄπωθεν τῆς ἀκτῆς χαλάσαντες,	101040102	13	4
26	φεῦ τῆς εὐοψίας, ὅσον ἰχθύων ἐξειλκύσαμεν·	0301020302	16	5
27	μικροῦ καὶ τοὺς φελλοὺς ἐδέησε	*1030102*	10	3
28	κατασῦραι ὑφάλους ἐξωγκωμένον τὸ δίκτυον.	202040202	16	4
Total			***111***	***32***
IV				
29	Εὐθὺς οὖν ὀψῶναι πλησίον, καὶ τὰς ἀσίλλας ἐπωμίους ἀνελόμενοι	1020204030302	22	6
30	καὶ τὰς ἑκατέρωθεν σπυρίδας ἐξαρτήσαντες	4030302	15	3
31	καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καταβαλόντες ⟨τ⟩ἀργύριον,	*4030202*	14	3
32	ἄστυδ’ ἐκ Φαλήρων ἠπείγοντο·	*030202*	10	3
33	πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις ἠρκέσαμεν ἡμεῖς	0202030	11	4
34	καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀπηνεγκάμεθα γαμεταῖς καὶ παιδίοις	204040201	17	4
35	ὄγκον οὐκ ὀλίγον ἔχειν τῶν λεπτοτέρων ἰχθύων·	0301040201	16	5
36	οὐκ εἰς μίαν,	*201*	04	1
37	ἀλλ’ εἰ χειμὼν ἐπιλάβοιτο	*30202*	09	2
38	καὶ εἰς πλείους ἡμέρας ἐμφορήσασθαι.	2020302	12	3
Total			***130***	***34***

preferable, given the stress-based rhythms of the text. In effect, the infinitives -θῆναι and -ῆσαι produce a *clausula* 0301 which is only found elsewhere in *cola* 8 and 9, whereas the infinitive in -σασθαι results in a *clausula* 0302 which is one of two dominant *clausulae* of the text. In addition, this *clausula* 0302 is the one that opens three of the four parts of the text, and its presence at the end would create an annular closure of the fourth part (echoing the *colon* 29) and of the whole letter (echoing the first *colon*).

– In *colon* 28, instead of the τὸ δίκτυον ἐξωγκωμένον as contained in the manuscripts, I suggest an inversion to avoid an orphan *clausula* at the end of the period and, on the contrary, to repeat the *clausula* 0202 which opens or closes other periods.

TABLE 4.12 Echoes of stressed-based rhythms in Alciphr. 1.21

	Cola	Formula	Syll.	Acc.
1	Ὑπερμαζᾷς ἢ μέμηνας·	30102	8	3
2	ἀκούω γάρ σε λυρῳδοῦ γυναικὸς ἐρᾶν	1010302010	13	5
3	καὶ εἰς ἐκείνης φθειρόμενον	30202	9	3
4	πᾶσαν τὴν ἐφήμερον ἄγραν κατατίθεσθαι.	03020302	14	4
Total			***44***	***14***
5	ἀπήγγειλε γάρ μοι τοῦθ’ ὁ γειτόνων βέλτιστος Σωσίας,	1020102010301	17	6
6	οὗτος ἐκεῖνος ὁ τὸν χρηστὸν καὶ ἡδὺν γάρον ἐψῶν	02020402020	18	7
7	ἐκ τῶν λεπτοτέρων ἰχθύων οὓς ἐγκολπίζεται τῇ σαγήνῃ.	402040401	19	4
Total			***54***	***17***
8	ἔστι δὲ τῶν ἐπιεικῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τιμώντων,	06020301	16	4
9	καὶ οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἐκεῖνος εἰς ψευδηγορίαν ὠλίσθησεν.	05050202	18	4
10	πόθεν οὖν, εἰπέ μοι, μουσικῆς σοι … διάτονον	0101020202	13	5
11	καὶ χρωματικὸν καὶ ἐναρμόνιον γένος ἐστίν;	40302020	15	4
12	ὡς ⟨ὁ⟩ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν ἀπαγγέλλων.	300401	11	3
Total			***73***	***20***
13	ὁμοῦ γὰρ τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς παιδίσκης ᾑρέθης καὶ τοῖς κρούμασιν,	10203020302	18	5
14	πέπαυσο εἰς ταῦτα δαπανώμενος,	030302	11	3
15	μή σε ἀντὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἡ γῆ ναυαγὸν	020202020	13	4
16	ἀποφήνῃ ψιλώσασα τῶν χρημάτων,	2020401	12	3
Total			***54***	***15***
17	καὶ γένηταί σοι τὸ τῆς ψαλτρίας καταγώγιον	101040302	15	4
18	[ὁ] Καλυδώνιος κόλπος ἢ [τὸ] Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος,	3020103002	17	5
19	καὶ Σκύλλα ἡ μουσουργός,	1040	7	2
20	οὐκ ἔχοντί σοι Κράταιϊν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, εἰ δεύτερον ἐφορμᾷ.	101010502040	20	5
Total			***59***	***16***

In Alciphr. 1.21 (see Table 4.12), there are even discrepancies about the order of *cola*. I followed the text edited by M.A. Schepers (while in the manuscripts, *cola* 8–9 precede *cola* 6–7, a reversal which A. Herscher proposed), except for the order of *cola* 12 and 13 (where I kept the order of manuscripts while M.A. Schepers follows the reorganisation of A. Meineke).[34]

34 *Colon* 11: γένος is a correction by Friedrich (μέλος in the manuscripts). Both deletions of the article in *colon* 18 (in the predicate group) are Herscher's corrections.

TABLE 4.13 Clausulae in Alciphr. 1.21

Period	**Opening**		**Ending**
I	0102	010—*0202*	0302
II	*0301*		*02020—0401*
III	*0301*	*0202—0202*	*02020—0401*
IV	0302—0302		*02020—0401*
V	0302	002	040—040

However, the order of *cola* I propose is the only one that presents, at the end of periods II[35] and III, the order of the pair of *clausulae* (02020 and 0401) which completes period IV, with another echo (0301) at their beginning. It is also the only one that associates two *cola* finishing with the same *clausula* (0302) at the beginning of period IV, which is reproduced at the beginning of the fifth period, and in the middle of period III with two *clausulae* 0202. Any change would ruin the scheme of rhetorical rhythm, while the selected order manifests optimal poetic arrangement (see Table 4.13).

In Alciphr. 1.13, A. Meineke introduced a gap near the beginning.[36] But this would destroy the isosyllaby and isotony of the first two periods, while the equal number of accented words appears to be important in the construction of this text (periods III and IV are also isotonic); thus it is better to correct the radical of the verb ἀπλώσας to obtain a satisfactory meaning without changing the number of syllables more than one (see Table 4.14).[37]

2.3 *Table of Results of the Whole Study*

The table 4.15 offers a synthesis on the degrees of rhetorical or poetic elaboration of each of the twenty-two letters of Book 1.

35 At the end of *colon* 6, the *clausula* 02020 exists only if one keeps the form ἑψῶν found in almost all manuscripts (preserved by Benner & Fobes, but replaced by the non-contracted form ἕψων by Schepers); this is not the classic form, but *Suda* asserts that the two conjugations existed (ἑψῶν τοῦτο καὶ βαρύνεται καὶ περισπᾶται), and the *DELG* reports that contracted forms are "rare and late" (indeed, the *TLG* shows occurrences in the medical corpus of Aetius, Alexander and Oribasius).

36 "Lac. sign. posuit Mein., supplens ⟨καὶ πολλαχοῦ διεσχισμένην ὁρῶν⟩" (Schepers).

37 E.g. ἀποσχίσας Arnold or ἀπωλέσας Dobrée.

TABLE 4.14 Isosyllaby and isotony of periods in Alciphr. 1.13

Period	Opening	Ending	Syll.	Acc.
I	Εὐοψία μὲν ἦν …	… θᾶττον ἐγένετο.	*113*	*34*
II	Καὶ ὁ Χρέμης …	… τὸ φιλάνθρωπον.	*112*	*34*
III	Ὡς δὲ ἐνστάντος …	… τοῦ σκάφους.	*91*	*29*
IV	Ἰδὼν οὖν …	… φέρων ἀπέδωκα.	*101*	*29*
V	Καὶ ὤμοσα …	… φιλοκερδεῖ πρεσβύτῃ.	*74*	*21*

I have tried to distinguish three levels of rhetorical use, from R+ (*clausulae* at the end of *some* periods) to R+++ (elaborate system of *clausulae* in gateways at all beginnings and endings of periods), and two levels of poetical use: P ++ (more than 90% of echoes of *cola* endings) and P +++ (saturation of strongly organised rhythmic patterns including couplets [aabb], alternate series [abab] and enclosed schemes [abba]).

The most obvious conclusion is that two successive letters rarely are on the same level of rhythmic use: either it is an instance of intentional *poikilia*, or the order is random.

3 Organisation of the First Book

However, the intersection of various formal data leads to certain parallels between letters or groups of letters that allow us to build a textual architecture in a diptych form. And there, within each subset, the level of rhythmic development of the letters in parallel again becomes relevant.

3.1 *A Diptych Structure, with Boundary-Texts*

I found some astonishing similarities in the number of words between certain letters and groups of letters in sets 1–12 and 13–22 (see Table 4.16).

At the boundary of the same subsets, we also find that the names of the authors of the letters display the particularity of starting with the same syllables. And in letters 1 and 13, even the addressees' names also begin in the same way (see Table 4.17).

In each of the subsets that run in parallel, there are many similarities in the arrangement of the accentual echoes. The letters at the boundaries (1.1, 1.11, 1.13 and 1.21–22) are particularly neat: the rhetorical organisation is underlined by echoes and one or two periods give access to a properly poetic level of elab-

TABLE 4.15 Alciphron's Book 1: a diptych

	Interlocutors	Names	*Isosyll.*	*Isotony*	*Claus.*	Words		Interlocutors	Names	*Isosyll.*	*Isotony*	*Claus.*	Words
1	***Fishermen (friends)***	**Εὐ/Φιλο**	–	++	**R+++ →P+++**	220	*13*	***Fishermen (friends)***	**Εὐ/Φιλο**	+	++	**R++/P++**	220
2	Fishermen (friends)	Γα/Κυρ	retrog.	+	R+	146	14	Fishermen (friends)	Θυν/Σκο	+	++	R+	137
3	Fisherman/wife	Γλαυ/Γα	–	–	R+	134	15	Fishermen (friends)	Ναυ/Πρυ	+	–	**R++/P+**	240
4	Fisherman/wife	Κυ/Τρι	++	+	**P+++**	141	16	Fishermen (friends)	Αὐ/Ἀρ	+	++	**R+→P++**	149
5	Fishermen	Ναυ/Ῥο	++	+	**R++**	91							
6	Wife/fisherman	Πα/**Εὐ**	+	–	**R+/P++**	167	*17*	***Fishermen*** *(1st letter,*	*Ἐγ/Ἀλι*	+	+	R+	106
7	Fishermen (friends)	Θα/**Πον**	–	+	**R+ +**	50	*18*	*answer*	*Ἀλι/ Ἐγ*	+	–	**R+/P++**	47
							19	*and reply)*	*Ἐγ/Ἀλι*	*0*	*0*	**P++**	24
TOTAL						729	TOTAL						703
8	Fisherman/wife	**Εὐ/*Γλαυ***	+	+	R+ *palindrom*	163	20	Fishermen (friends)	**Εὐ**/Λι	–	–	**R++**	93
9	Fisherman/*parasitos*	Αἰ/Στρου	–	–	–	140							
10	Fishermen (friends)	Κε/**Πον**	–	+	**R++**	194		*Gap?: distance*	*near of*	*400*	*words*		
TOTAL						**497**	TOTAL						**93**

TABLE 4.15 Alciphron's Book 1: a diptych (*cont.*)

	Interlocutors	Names	*Isosyll.*	*Isotony*	*Claus.*	Words		Interlocutors	Names	*Isosyll.*	*Isotony*	*Claus.*	Words
11	***Daughter/mother*** (*1st letter*)	*Γλαυ/Χα*	–	–	R++ →P++	*135*	*21*	***Fishermen*** (***friends***) (*1st letter*	*Εὐ/Θα*	+	–	R+++ /P++	*131*
12	***Mother/daughter*** (*answer*)	*Χα/Γλαυ*	–	–	– *palindrom*	*59*	*22*	*answer*)	*Θα/Εὐ*	+	++	P+++	*62*
TOTAL						**194**	TOTAL						**193**

TABLE 4.16 Similarities in the number of words

	Number	N°	Words	Number	N°	Words	%
boundary	**1 letter**	1	220	**1 letter**	13	220	0
	6 letters	2–7	*729*	6 letters	14–19	*703*	4
	3 letters	8–10	497	1 letter	20 +??	93	gap?
boundary	**2 letters**	11–12	*194*	**2 letters**	21–22	*193*	0,5

TABLE 4.17 Similarities in onomastics

	N°	Names	N°	Names
First letter	1	Εὐ / Φιλο	13	Εὐ / Φιλο
End 1st part	7	... / Πον		
Begin. 2nd part	8	Εὐ / Γλαυ	20	Εὐ / ...
End 2nd part	10	... / Πον		
Pair of letters	11–12	Γλαυ / ... ... / Γλαυ	21–22	Εὐ / ... ... / Εὐ

oration. Letter 1.12 (which completes the first part) does not have the same characteristics of rhythmic echoes as the others, but it is punctuated in an interesting way, as discussed in § 3.3. On the contrary, in sets 2–7 and 14–19 of the letters, one cannot fail to be struck by the greatest variety of modes of rhythmic development, from the weakly marked to the very carefully designed, and this diversity may characterise these two sets contrastively.

The difference in elaboration is immense between letters loosely adorned with *clausulae* with a rhetorical function and letters abounding with tightly woven echoes of *clausulae*. The question remains whether it is linked to the *ethos* that Alciphron built for each of his writers, or to a differential marking of literary genres (prose genres vs verse) manipulated in the creation of these letters.

3.2 *Is the Ethos of Each Writer a Condition of Choice?*

As the use of stress-based rhythms reflects some degree of rhetorical development, could Alciphron have intended to *link this to the cultural level he assigns to each of the writers*? I do not mean that these "educated" characters have received the same level of educational attainment as the rhetoricians (in

TABLE 4.18 Characters' signs of learning

Ep.	Character	Signs of learning	Claus.
11	A young girl in love	Sappho, poetic mythology, phraseology of the description of the hero of novels.	**R**++ **P**++
21	A fisherman	Musical and mythological comparisons and impossible metaphor of an earthly sinking.	**R**+++ **P**++
22	A fisherman	A man in love seeing Eros as a marine divinity and representing his lyre-player as the nymph Galatea.	**P**+++

TABLE 4.19 Characters' signs of wealth

Ep.	Character	Signs of wealth	Claus.
4	A fisherman	He blames his wife for seeking the friendship of wealthy urban women.	P+++
6	A wife	The only daughter (ἐπίκληρος) of wealthy citizens, whose husband has sufficient means to offer luxurious clothing and gold to a courtesan.	R+ P++
16	A skipper in love	His job enables him to earn enough to live well, even if he cannot afford to offer a sufficient dowry to be a suitable match for the daughter of rich *metoikoi*.	R+ P++
1 and 13	Fishermen	They own their boat and have a crew.	R++ P++

this case they would speak using *metric clausulae*), but they have passed the stage of literacy: they spent several years learning to write and read the Classics.

A few letters exhibit the marks of the educational level of their author (see Table 4.18). In other letters, certain clues allow us to infer that the characters were wealthy enough to have been educated (see Table 4.19). Conversely, it is clear from the statements of other writers that they are very poor (see Table 4.20).

It is a fact that the skill in the use of *clausulae* (see the last column of each of the tables 4.18, 4.19 and 4.20) is quite closely correlated to the social status of the characters. Does that rule out the concern to represent the genres

TABLE 4.20 Characters' signs of poverty

Ep.	Character	Claus.
2	A servant.	R+
3	An unfortunate fisherman suggesting to his wife that they become farmers: at least this would be a less dangerous occupation.	R+
8	A poor fisherman who plans to engage in the dishonest activities of a pirate to become wealthier.	R+
14	Θῆτες (members of warship rowing crews).	R+
17	A man poor enough to request the use of an abandoned torn fishing net.	R+

TABLE 4.21 Echoes of stress-based rhythms in Alciphr. 1.19

Cola	Formula	Syll.	Acc.
Οὐκ ᾔτησά σε ἃ ἔχεις,	10*10201*	8	3
ἀλλ' ἃ μὴ ἔχεις.	301	5	1
ἐπεὶ δ(ὲ) οὐ βούλει ἃ μὴ ἔχεις ἕτερον ἔχειν,	3030*10201*	14	4
ἔχε ἃ μὴ ἔχεις.	0301	6	2

imitated by using more or less rhythmic elaboration according to whether they belong to prose or poetry?

3.3 *Is the Choice a Generic One?*

In this case, the letters that *pursue the same goals as the genres of prose*, such as persuasion, fall only within the level of *rhetorical* elaboration of stress-based *clausulae*. And this is the case in Alciphr. 1.5, 1.10 (R++) and 1.21 (R+++), which are exhortations, and Alciphr. 1.8 (R+), which is deliberative.

Alciphr. 1.19, which is just a *syllogism*, is reduced to four *cola* with alternate rhythmic finals, but it gives a punchy style to this absurd syllogism[38] and it is not, strictly speaking, classed as poetry (see Table 4.21).

38 This is a parody of the famous false syllogism about non-possession entitled "the horned" (εἴ τι οὐκ ἀπέβαλες, τοῦτο ἔχεις· κέρατα δὲ οὐκ ἀπέβαλες· κέρατα ἄρα ἔχεις).

Similarly, in letter 1.12, which completes the first part of the diptych, there is only one echo between the *clausulae* at the ends of *cola* (τοῦ δ(ὲ) ἀπὸ τῆς Φωκίδος Ἀντικύρας [2020301] / τοῖς ἐναλίοις βορὰν παραρρίψει σε θηρίοις [302020301]), and furthermore, it is seven *cola* distant, which makes it difficult to perceive; but some phrases are not less strongly accentuated. The difference with the other letters is in form, due to a rhythmical palindromic movement:

Ἥτις, δέον αἰσχύνεσθαι κορικῶς, ἀπέξυσαι τὴν αἰδῶ τοῦ προσώπου	01020401040201
Ἔχε ἀτρέμα κατὰ σεαυτὴν	0202020
Καὶ ῥάπιζε τὸ κακὸν ἐξωθοῦσα τῆς διανοίας	104020401

This mother encloses her thoughts and guidance pertaining to a banal morality in rhythmic palindromes. The goal behind this was probably to mock the mother's tedious ethics; she ridicules herself by both the formal excesses of the rhythmic process and the folding structure that characterises the palindromic rhythm.

Conversely, the following table shows that the themes of seduction, happiness or other emotional climaxes, such as distress or lovesickness, match with the highest density of echoes at the endings of *cola*:

euphoria	Alciphr. 1.1, periods III–IV (P+++), 1.16, period IV (P+++), 1.22 (P+++)
seduction	Alciphr. 1.4 (P+++)
lovesickness	Alciphr. 1.11, period IV (P++).

This is most likely linked to the fact that these are the themes of elegiac poetry. It is very significant that in some letters in which the emotional climax appears only at the end, it is at this point that the use of *clausulae* rises to a poetic density.

In other letters, it seems that the poetic use of *clausulae* is rather rooted in the other poetic genre practiced extensively at the beginning of the Empire, the *epigram*. The diversity of themes bound to this genre discourages a complete review; I shall only mention the rewriting of the *friendly* epigram accompanying a gift, in Alciphr. 1.7, where all *clausulae* echo, and the *satirical* epigram, which is a likely source of inspiration for the misers' portraits in Alciphr. 1.2 and 1.18. In Alciphr. 1.2, one can observe the servant's denunciation of his master's greed in a rhythmically palindromic sentence (ὁ δεσπότης δὲ συλλέγει καὶ τοὺς ἰχθύας καὶ τὰ κέρματα 203040302).[39] In Alciphr. 1.18, there is a satire of a

39 Translators have also tried to make this statement rhythmical: "Le maître ramasse t*out*,

TABLE 4.22 Echoes of stress-based rhythms in Alciphr. 1.18

Cola	Formula	Syll.	Acc.
τί δὲ τὸ παρ' ἐμοῦ ῥᾳθυμίας ἠξιωμένον	04020401	15	*4*
κτῆμα σὸν εἶναι νομίζεις;	0100201	8	*4*
εἶργε τὰς χεῖρας,	0201	5	*2*
μᾶλλον δὲ τὰς ἀπλήστους ἐπιθυμίας.	040401	12	*3*

TABLE 4.23 Echoes of pitch-based rhythms in Alciphr. 1.10 (beginning)

	Cola	Syll.	Stress-based formula	Pitch-based clausula
1	Τὴν μὲν θάλατταν, ὡς ὁρᾷς, φρίκη κατέχει	*13*	20400201	***ditrochee***
2	καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑποβέβηκεν ἀχλὺς	*12*	402030	***ditrochee***
3	καὶ πάντα πανταχόθεν συννέφελα,	*11*	1030202	choriamb
4	καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀρασσόμενοι	*15*	2050302	choriamb
5	ὅσον οὔπω κυκήσειν τὸ πέλαγος ἐπαγγέλλονται.	*16*	0102020402	*dispondee*
6	ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ δελφῖνες ἀνασκιρτῶντες	*12*	2020401	*dispondee*
7	καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνοιδούσης λείως ἐφαλλόμενοι	*16*	303010302	choriamb
8	χειμῶνα καὶ τάραχον ἐπιόντα μηνύουσι.	*15*	102040202	***ditrochee***

miser who unknowingly discredits himself by his own words (a process inherited from ethic iambics) and his small-minded remarks are cast in a quatrain with an enclosed scheme of *clausulae* (see Table 4.22).

It should not be inferred that all poetic subjects are treated by harmonious associations of *stress*-based *clausulae*. The description of the storm (Alciphr. 1.10) is a significant counter-example (see Table 4.23): it is treated rhythmically, but in the old metrics of ornate prose, with a *pitch*-based rhythmic elaboration of the *clausulae* (100 % of echoes).

Alciphron probably intended to mark the hackneyed nature of this topic by treating it in the old style, using *traditional metric clausulae*[40] (I have observed

nos poissons et nos pauvres s*ous*" (Ozanam [1999]); "Our master gathers in both [7 syll.] the fish and the ha'pennies [7 syll.]" (Benner-Fobes).

40 A very recent publication (Muñoz 2017) studies the rhythms in letter 3.19. The author notes numerous echoes of stress-based *clausulae*, but she also discovers that quantitative

that Longus[41] and Plutarch[42] also occasionally wrote in this way for this very purpose).

4 Conclusions

This study shows that the echoes of the stress-based rhythms that structure some of the letters of Book 1 (and Book 2, from a previous study)[43] are so dense and well organised that they cannot be unintentional. This choice of rhythms related to modern pronunciation implies that Alciphron was targeting several audiences, with each of them finding a form of pleasure in it. Learned people trained in traditional rhetoric and ancient pronunciation, but who practiced the newer pronunciation in everyday life, might have enjoyed seeing common people trying to adorn their letters with stress-based clausulae and being successful in varying degrees according to their educational level. Good readers devoid of rhetorical training (educated women, many emancipated slaves and well-to-do artisans) must have appreciated this new aesthetic that allowed them to access the pleasure of rhythm but at a level of language that was familiar to them. And during public readings, the most diverse audiences could have experienced the pleasure of rhythmical echoes while fully understanding the meaning of the text (a reader adopting the old-fashioned pronunciation—in a text composed for this reading—also produced beautiful rhythms for all ears, but the oppositions of vowel quantities and the musical pitch modulations, because they had become foreign to most of the population, impeded understanding of the meaning).

In line with the *ethos* of each fictional writer, the rhythmic development of the letters is variable, from a simple rhetorical demarcation of successive periods of the letter to a complex implementation of prose poetry. In most cases, the rhythmic formatting is coupled with the isosyllabies and isotonies of periods. It is remarkable that a minimal rhetorical emphasis is always present, even in the letters of the least educated writers.[44]

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clausulae are linked to onomastics (the *cola* that characterise each philosopher participating in the banquet ends with the same metric *clausula* as his own name). It is possible that the use of the old metric is also intended as mockery here.

41 Biraud [2017].

42 Biraud [2014b].

43 Biraud [2010].

44 This is not surprising when we remember that, according to Cicero (*Or.* 213), the Roman *plebs* was enthusiastic about an echo of well-placed trochees (*hoc dichoreo tantus clamor contionis*).

Alciphron also modulated the elaboration of his stress-based rhythmic patterns according to the theme and purpose of the letter in question: if it was to *persuade*, the *rhetoric* underscore sufficed (note that if the reasoning is brief, e.g. a syllogism, the density of echoes can be strong without being a poetic register); in contrast, *lyrical expression*, as in ancient poetic genres, required a tight rhythmic development which was *a new form of poetry*.

Consequently, the possibility of achieving such echoes while complying with the order of the words (or even the *cola*) of one manuscript rather than another may be a criterion of choice between manuscript variants, or may even encourage a preference for certain conjectures; this is clear from the study of letters 1.1, 1.7 and 1.21.

Furthermore, an accurate count of the words of each letter revealed that Book 1 could be structured as a diptych (provided, however, that there would be a gap before the last pair of letters). The hypothesis is even more likely that there are parallels at other levels between the two parts of the diptych: the sounds of the writers' and addressees' names, and the location of letter pairs at the end of both parts of the diptych.

PART 2

Cultural Issues and Backgrounds

CHAPTER 5

Alciphron's Reception of Oral and Literary Traditions: Mythological References and Comparisons in Alciphron's *Letters*

A. Sophie Schoess

Alciphron's *Letters* famously engage with contemporary and earlier literary sources, allowing the author both to flaunt his own erudition, and to demonstrate his ability to adapt and give new meaning to old tropes, themes, and stories.* Scholars have discussed Alciphron's innovative use of different sources in each of the four books of his *Letters*, his selective appropriation of other genres into the epistolary narrative, and his contributions to his own genre of fictional letter-writing.[1] Throughout, special attention has been drawn to the dominant influence of New Comedy on the creation and development of Alciphron's characters and their narratives.[2] So far, however, relatively little attention has been paid to Alciphron's inclusion of mythological references, or to his engagement with earlier treatments of the myths to which he refers. Indeed, with the notable exception of Tsirimbas' work on mythological proverbs [1936],[3] Alciphron's mythological sources have remained largely unstudied.

In this chapter, I explore these mythological excursions within the *Letters*, examining not only their extended allegorical uses, but also the connotative significance of brief references. While these mythological allusions are but one of many threads to be followed through the *Letters*, I hope to show that a conscientious study of these diverse examples not only enriches the individual epistles, but also provides valuable insight into the intertextuality within the *Letters*, as well as beyond. Alciphron's mythological references, I argue, provide the reader with a guideline for reading the letters.

* For their helpful comments and suggestions, I would like to thank the editors of this volume, the anonymous reviewers, and Jaś Elsner.

1 See, e.g., Hodkinson [2007]; König [2007]; König [2013, esp. 197–205].

2 See, among others, Anderson [1997: 2190–2193]; Fögen [2007 *passim*]; Rosenmeyer [2001b: 256–260].

3 Tsirimbas [1936: 4–19] lists 16 mythological proverbs, of which some are repeated, giving a total of 20 proverbial references to classical myth in the *Letters*. One of these references stems from the fragments included in Schepers' edition of the fourth book [1905: 157].

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Not every reference to, or mention of, a myth in the *Letters* is equally rich; some, at least on the surface, do seem to have been little more than idiomatic or casual remarks.[4] The modern reader's understanding of such distinctions is necessarily influenced, and to no small degree, by both the knowledge of the mythological narratives transmitted through classical literature, and equally the ignorance of what will have been a far greater range of literary and oral mythological traditions with which the ancient reader was familiar. As a result, some of the references that strike the modern reader as meaningful based on their intertextual potential might indeed have seemed trivial to an ancient audience, and conversely, some references that appear wholly banal to us might have been charged for the original readership in ways we cannot today reconstruct. Accordingly, readers must remain cautious about making assumptions about the relative importance of other influences, even if these are inaccessible to them.[5] This is especially true in reading the works of Alciphron and of other highly-educated, elite writers who delight in teasing the reader with both highly visible and extremely subtle references to earlier and contemporary authors. We must remember that any modern attempt at taxonomising mythological references would necessarily be biased toward the surviving corpus of classical myth in Greco-Roman literature. Indeed, the question of whether or not Alciphron and his contemporary readers knew and engaged with the Latin classics—and with regard to mythological references, Ovid's *oeuvre* is of particular interest—remains disputed.[6] Latin works nonetheless often provide rich

4 Names of characters familiar from classical myth are mentioned numerous times in the *Letters*. Some of these may be counted among the so-called speaking names and thus appropriate to their cultural and social context, see, e.g., Sondag [1905], König [2007: 277–280] and Hodkinson in this volume. Others, as discussed below, may be seen to have more complex meanings that can only be appreciated in the context of mythological references made in different letters.

5 While oral traditions not committed to writing are inaccessible to the modern reader, other cultural influences, such as those of the visual arts, can and should be considered. See, e.g., Rosenmeyer [2001b], and Funke in this volume.

6 The question of whether later Greek authors were familiar with the Latin tradition and were engaging with it in their own works remains a source of disagreement among scholars. Hellenistic versions or models of some Latin works, such as Catullus' *Carmen* 64 or Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, have been postulated, reconstructed, or conclusively identified (see, e.g., Giangrande [1972]; cf. Murley [1937]; Lightfoot [1999: 4, 39]; Hutchinson [2008: 200–227]). In many cases, however, not even fragments of these source texts survive, leaving scholars to speculate about their form and similarities with the text in question. While, in the past, scholars tended to be sceptical of the idea that late antique Greek authors might have relied on Latin sources, recent scholarship has demonstrated that later Greek authors were indeed reading, and working with, earlier Latin sources (e.g., Carvounis—Papaioannou [forthcoming] and Jolowicz [2015 *passim* & 104–180 on Ovidian influences on Chariton and Achilles

and challenging intertexts for the reader to explore. Though many of Alciphron's intertextual references to Ovid in particular may be traced to earlier Greek models, others, such as those to Ariadne's letter in the *Heroides* discussed below, are more distinct, and may indeed suggest a more direct engagement with the Latin tradition.

Alciphron challenges the reader to recognise references to mythological narratives in general and to specific literary treatments of them in particular. It is in no small part due to the integral role played by the reader in the identification of mythological references, and in the creation of meaning based on them, that Alciphron's mythological references defy strict categorisation.[7] Even seemingly simple distinctions, such as those between the mythologically inspired names of some of the fictional letter-writers,[8] the direct references to mythological characters or narratives within the letters,[9] and the veiled references to specific literary treatments of myths,[10] are not clear-cut. Indeed, I argue that while mythological references may appear sundry or simply circumstantial at first sight, when read as part of the collection of letters as a whole, they accumulate meaning dialectically and may be seen as connecting different letters, even bridging books, through a complex mythological web: it is through acts of reading, re-reading, and cross-reading that the mythological references become meaningful, with each reference accruing further signification in the context of those which follow it.

Indeed, this interplay between mythological references in different letters highlights the interconnectedness of the *Letters* as a collection. In Aelian's *Let-*

Tatius]) and shown the extent to which a rich literary exchange between Latin and Greek writers existed in Late Antiquity (e.g., Verhelst—Scheijnen (eds) [forthcoming]). While this question has not been directly addressed in recent scholarship on his works, the premise that Alciphron was familiar with and, indeed, was consciously inverting Ovidian treatments of myth is at the heart of Rosenmeyer's analysis [2001a: 258 & *passim*]; cf. Hodkinson [2012].

7 Even Tsirimbas' proverbial uses of mythological references are not always clear-cut and may, at times, be shown to have extended far beyond the proverbial (see below on Theseus). He includes, for instance, a proverbial reference to the Eleusinian Mysteries among the mythological references (3.26.1), and while the Mysteries may be seen to be based on mythological narratives, reference to them may perhaps better be described as ritual, religious, or socio-cultural than necessarily mythological *per se*.

8 E.g., Glaucus and Galatea (1.3).

9 E.g., the proverbial uses of the punishment of the Danaïds in 1.2.1 or the cleverness of Odysseus in 3.40.2.

10 E.g., references to the maenads' madness in Euripides' *Bacchae* (*Letters* 1.12.1); cf. Philostratus, *Imagines* 1.18, for discussion, see Elsner [2007]. Similarly, Phryne's reference to Pygmalion in *Letters* 4.1; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 10.243–297; cf. Rosenmeyer [2001b].

ters of Farmers, a collection of letters akin to Alciphron's, similar patterns of mythological cross-references can be found linking individual letters and creating a cohesive whole.[11] In Philostratus' *Love Letters*, on the other hand, the reader is presented with very different uses of mythological material. Here, mythological references and comparisons serve primarily as tools for the letter-writer to display his erudition; many consist of catalogues of mythological figures and narratives that show *variatio* in the writer's approach to a single topic.[12] The treatment of mythological material in these three epistolary collections very much reflects their internal narrative cohesiveness: where Philostratus presents his letters as a largely unconnected collection of one-directional letters, Alciphron and Aelian link their letters through their fictional writers' *milieus*, through narrative lines, and through cross-references between different letters.[13] The effects of such different strategies on the reader differ accordingly: while Philostratus' work challenges his readers to keep pace with his educated references and offers lessons in erudition, Alciphron's and Aelian's appeal to their readers' own knowledge of the myths and invite them to engage critically with the references and to follow their narrative threads throughout their works.

Given the important role played by the reader in creating meaning within and across Alciphron's mythological references, this chapter, rather than providing a comprehensive list of mythological references in Alciphron's *Letters*, offers an examination of the different levels on which some of these references operate, and of the reader's role in decoding them. The chapter is divided into two sections. In the first, I examine a number of these apparently proverbial references with a view not to their exegesis (many are, indeed, banal in isolation), but rather to illustrating the internal consistency of references with respect to theme and trope within each book. I then highlight some of the ways in which these referential clusters complement and enhance the themes of each book within the larger context of the *Letters*. In the second section, I take up a number of specific examples which illustrate how rewarding close readings of mythological references in this work can be. Of particular interest here will be the manner in which Alciphron plays with the reader's expectations in the fictive letter-writers' own conceptualisation of their mythological references. A question readers must ask themselves is whether the writing 'low-life' should be expected to be able to recognise the literary reference behind his or her (apparently) casual use of a proverb; subsequently, they must ask whether

11 Cf. note 33 below.

12 E.g., Philostratus, *Love Letters* 8, 25, and 28; cf. Goldhill [2009: 294–295].

13 See Goldhill [2009: 289–298].

such inferred consciousness or intent should influence their own response to the reference. Since the letters themselves do not always offer straightforward readings of the mythological references, it is the reader's task to establish connections and to give meaning to the scattered references in the larger context of Alciphron's collection as a whole.

1 Mythological Potential in the *Letters*

In the following section, I examine the uses of mythological references and comparisons in the four books separately to highlight different layers of engagement with mythological narratives, especially in connection with other literary intertexts created. Following the individual analyses, I turn to mythological references linking letters from different books, highlighting the reader's role in making connections and creating a unifying narrative.

1.1 *Myth in the Letters of Fishermen*

In the *Letters of Fishermen*, the mythological figures referred to are primarily, albeit not exclusively, associated with the sea: among others, there are multiple references to Scylla and Charybdis, discussed in detail below, as well as to various sea gods. Some of the correspondents' names, too, are borrowed from a mythological repertoire—Galatea and Cephalus, for instance. As will become clear presently, a fair number of the mythological references made in the *Letters of Fishermen* should be regarded as proverbial or offhand comments rather than as complex cerebral reflections on the similarities between the writer's situation and that of a mythological character. This is not to say, however, that the reader is not able, or, indeed, is not meant, to read beyond the obvious and to explore the proverbs' literary connections.

From the first letter of the collection onward we encounter myth-based proverbs, such as the reference to "halcyon days" in 1.1. To an English native-speaker, too, this is familiar as an idiom, and indeed as one used with scarcely any reflection on its mythological origins. Similarly, in this letter, only the proverbial meaning of such days is seemingly referred to—the calm of the sea after adverse storms.[14] A mythologically-inclined reader, however, might pause to reflect on the proverb's origin, the story of Alcyone's transformation, for instance, as presented in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[15] According to the Ovidian

14 This example is not listed among Tsirimbas' mythological proverbs.

15 Ovid, *Met.* 11.410–748; cf. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 65.

treatment of the myth, Alcyone is transformed into a bird and her subsequent difficulty nesting on beaches disturbed by strong winds led to the divine provision of these calm days, the so-called halcyon days. While this is an interesting intellectual game for Alciphron's readers, enabling them to exercise their familiarity with even unconventional versions of classical myths, it is difficult to imagine that the intended recipient of the letter, or for that matter its writer, should be read as familiar, much less concerned, with this idiom's origin. For the external reader, however, familiarity with the myth offers an almost Ovidian interruption of the narrative at hand and, in this case, supplies a footnote rather than providing a deeper insight into the letter or its narrative.

In a similarly proverbial manner, a fisherman's fruitless labours are compared to the Danaïds' task of collecting water with broken jars (1.2.1), and another's thriftiness is labelled Sisyphean (1.13.1). Both of these references are fitting in their proverbial meaning, but the underlying myths may be seen as potentially less straightforwardly significant. Both the Danaïds and Sisyphus are, of course, punished in the underworld for crimes committed in life. The comparison of the fisherman with the Danaïds appears to be strictly limited to the latters' punishment, their impossible and thankless task. At no point is the reader given reason to believe the fisherman has brought about his own hardship, unlike the Danaïds, who are punished for a very specific crime. The Sisyphean comparison, on the other hand, may be seen to fall into a different category. Indeed, the sly fisherman, who initially brags of his Sisyphean plot, only narrowly escapes punishment for his cleverness, the loss of his boat. It is his crime, his intention to outsmart someone ultimately more powerful, that nearly becomes his undoing, thus making the comparison apt. Here, the reader is invited to consider the possible ramifications of the fisherman's slyness, his punishment had he not been able to save himself at the last minute.

The reader is drawn into the letters' short narratives and is invited to consider the implications of offhand mythological comparisons and remarks, a point I will return to later on. It is important to note, for now, that this line of mythological inquiry is not always a successful one and can even derail the reader, as in the case of the Danaïd comparison. It is a challenge nonetheless posed by Alciphron's use of proverbial and abstract mythological references, some of which do prove to be extremely rich.

1.2 *Myth in the Letters of Farmers*

The *Letters of Farmers* differ quite substantially from the *Letters of Fishermen* in their approach to mythological subjects. The references are fewer and far between, and much more difficult to engage with. The following example, the combination of a historical and a mythological proverb, is representative of the

kinds of references typically encountered in this book. In 2.36, Eudicus complains to Pasion about his lazy slave who sleeps for as long as Epimenides, proverbially speaking,[16] or for as long as the night during which Heracles was conceived.[17] Both measures are topical exaggerations, though one is, of course, far more extreme in its hyperbole. It seems almost impossible to take further either of these references—it is, after all, unlikely that the slave's sleep imbued him with prophetic powers of the kind Epimenedes was said to have possessed.[18] When considering the Herculean reference, on the other hand, one may be struck by the comparison of a three-fold night of sexual excitement with a lazy man's sleep. The reader might pursue the possibility that the description of this slave as particularly sturdy and strong-looking may suggest a Herculean figure initially, and that the comparison with Epimenedes is used to highlight the man's uselessness, the comparison with Heracles thus ultimately serving to underscore his unfulfilled potential. While such a reading is certainly possible, the farmers' otherwise rather dry references and matter-of-fact handling of the material suggests that proverbial references of this kind may, in this book, best be taken at face value.

1.3 *Myth in the Letters of Parasites*

The *Letters of Parasites* primarily show the concern of their writers with their immediate surroundings and their contemporaries; it is therefore perhaps not unsurprising that a majority of the references and exempla we find in this book tend toward the historical or philosophical rather than mythological. Where the fictive writers do make use of mythological references, though, they too are highly topical. Two such examples can be found in 3.23 and 3.40, the latter including a proverbial reference to Odysseus' ability to think on his feet when confronted with adverse conditions. *Letters* 3.23, on the other hand, features a detailed description of a dream depicting the letter-writer himself as Ganymede about to be admitted to Olympus. The motif of the divine cupbearer is highly appropriate for the *milieu* of the parasites; its treatment underscores the power of the rich patron over the parasite who is admitted to the table at the host's discretion, but is ultimately always an outsider, not a permanent fixture.[19] The parasite's anxieties over his lifestyle are reflected quite topically in this letter's mythological dream-narrative.

16 Epimenides slept for 57 years; see Tsirimbas [1936: 20].

17 Zeus famously extended the night he spent with Alcmene; see Tsirimbas [1936: 8].

18 E.g., Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 1.109–115.

19 Cf., e.g., 3.4, where a parasite bemoans his undignified treatment at the hands of his patron, highlighting his status as a barely human plaything for the rich.

One further mythological reference in this book, a more complex one, deserves closer attention here, namely that of Actaeon's punishment in 3.11. Here, Horologius relates his experience with a pack of watchdogs after stealing a silver pitcher from a rich man, Phanias. In commenting on his narrow escape, Horologius compares his situation to that of one who had angered Artemis. The connection with Actaeon's offence against the goddess is easily drawn and the mythological reference decoded without difficulty. Again, the reader is invited to take the analogy further and to ask to what extent it is only the punishment, the attack of the dogs, that makes the comparison work. Horologius is clearly guilty of a crime, and acknowledges his moral and legal position. A reader familiar with the long literary tradition of Actaeon's crime and punishment might view this reference as a veiled contribution to the literary debate concerning Actaeon's guilt.[20] While their punishments, attacks by vicious dogs, are easily comparable, the crimes of Horologius and Actaeon are hardly on the same level, so the reader has to ask him- or herself how fitting the overall comparison really is. The answer lies, I would suggest, in the relationship between offender and offended.[21] Horologius steals from a rich and powerful individual, someone who could easily destroy him socially and financially; he tempts his fate by antagonising someone of greater power, just as Actaeon offends a powerful divinity and has to pay for his transgression. The reference, while diverging with respect to the final outcome—Horologius lives and keeps the money, while Actaeon dies a horrible death—is still appropriate as it ultimately serves to highlight the dependence of the parasite on the powerful elite, and the elite's power to enrich or destroy his life.

Both the Ganymede and the Actaeon reference, then, may be seen as literarily rich, yet also fitting for their narrative context. Much like the Odyssean example, they suggest the letter-writer's engagement with the myth and its literary history, and his ability to draw meaningful parallels. Unlike the fishermen, whose mythological references may be explored by the reader, but ultimately appear fixed in their proverbial state for the letter-writers, the parasites show themselves to be familiar with contemporary culture and literature and able to present themselves and their narratives in more complex ways.

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20 See, for instance, Barkan [1980]; Lacy [1990]; Leach [1981]; Schlam [1984]. It is worth noting that, throughout classical literature, different crimes are attributed to Actaeon, yet his punishment is portrayed consistently. Alciphron's parasite may perhaps be seen as engaging with this literary tradition as a fluid concept, allowing him to leave his own mark on Actaeon's narrative.

21 We may compare this with Ovid's comparison of his own *error* with that of Actaeon in *Trist.* 2.103–108.

1.4 *Myth in the Letters of Courtesans*

In the *Letters of Courtesans*, we find relatively few mentions of mythological figures and narratives, but almost all those we do uncover are relatively involved. Rosenmeyer's chapter on the myth of Pygmalion in Phryne's letter to Praxiteles shows just how complex these can be [2001b].[22] For the present purpose, a particularly interesting use of mythological references in this book is the comparison of lovers to mythological figures, be it to the idealised Adonis or to unfavourable characters, such as Atreus.[23] Adonis is presented as both the epitome of a perfect and attractive lover in 4.17, against whose image the courtesans' lovers are measured, and as the most jealously guarded—for this precise reason—in 4.14. In the latter, Bacchis is accused of guarding her lover too keenly, acting the part of the jealous Aphrodite competing with Persephone for Adonis' affection. Glycera's letter to Bacchis in which she begs her to treat her Menander with professional courtesy only, 4.2, may similarly be linked to such a mythological image of the jealously guarded lover. That a courtesan should compare another to the goddess of love seems highly appropriate in the context of their *milieu*. At the same time, however, the jealous guarding and the fear of losing a lover—on whom, after all, the courtesan's livelihood depended—may also invite another mythological comparison, that of Ariadne, a figure I return to below.

Given the courtesans' preoccupation with retaining their lovers and pursuing their own financial success, it is hardly surprising that their lovers, irrespective of their appearance, are Adonis-like figures, provided they behave according to expectation, that is to say, so long as they bring gifts, provide money, and show affection.[24] As courtesan and lover are compared to the divinity and her mortal lover, their relationship, too, is elevated, becoming idealised and divorced from the pecuniary reality of a courtesan's life. At the same time, however, this shift also highlights the temporary nature of these relationships, as Aphrodite is bound to lose Adonis, unable to entice him forever.

Alciphron's writing courtesans exploit the motif, often only hinting at the almost proverbial role played by Adonis. In providing his readers with clues that allow them, if they so choose, to recognise the mythological reference of one letter in another through a common theme, Alciphron creates a sense of

22 Rosenmeyer shows that the invocation of Pygmalion's myth invites the reader to reflect, among other things, on the role of the letter-writer as artist, as well as on the complex relationship between artist and model (Rosenmeyer [2001b]).

23 Cf. Tsirimbas [1936: 19]. Cf. *Letters* 2.7.2.

24 Compare *Letters* 4.9, where a lover is accused of behaving like a stereotypical elegiac lover. Cf. Philostratus, *Letters* 7 and 23.

mythological unity also within this book. The richness of the images evoked by mentions of male and female mythological lovers does not stem from the individual references themselves but from their applicability to, and relevance for, multiple letters in the same book.

2 Register of Mythological Reference

I have aimed to highlight the ways in which the different letter-writing groups engage with the mythological, adapting it to suit their respective worlds. An important aspect to consider when comparing the different groups' mythological references is the register into which they fall. We have already seen the prevalence of proverbial references to myth in the *Letters of Fishermen* and *Farmers* and more complex and literarily suggestive ones in the *Letters of Parasites* and *Courtesans*. The registers within which they operate tend to be rather different as well.[25] Where fishermen and farmers betray only a basic level of familiarity, leaving readers to explore the myth in more depth on their own, parasites and courtesans engage in complex mythological and, by extension, literary games themselves. As has often been argued, the cultural and intellectual environments of city and countryside are reflected in the different groups' engagement with literary sources,[26] and this is certainly true for their use of mythological references as well.

To what extent, then, is the reader expected to assume, or project him- or herself into, the role of the intended internal audience, that of the fellow farmer or courtesan, and to engage with the text of the letter on the intellectual level of this intended recipient? We may confidently assume that Alciphron would not have approved of a reader who takes at face value what could be questioned or challenged. It is thus here that the double-identity of the reader comes into play: he or she is reading both the 'low-life's' letter, assuming the role of the intended internal audience, and Alciphron's collection of fictive letters, taking on the role of intellectual counterpart and perhaps even literary critic.[27] While

25 On scholarly distinctions drawn between register, genre, and style, see, e.g., Biber—Conrad [2009].

26 On cultural and social hierarchies within the *Letters*, see, among others, Anderson [1997]; Hodkinson [2012, esp. 49–50]; Rosenmeyer [2001a: 255–279].

27 It is here that the concept of the reader's *Erwartungshorizont* truly comes into play; see, e.g., de Man's introduction to Jauss' work on *Rezeptionsästhetik*: Jauss [1982: xii]; Wolff [1981: 111–113]; cf. Elsner [1995: 3]. According to this school of thought, the reader's role in the creation of meaning is in part informed by his or her own background and in part by his or her expectation in the work, for instance, as pertains to its genre.

the former may not be expected to read beyond a proverbial reference, the latter is expected to engage with the text on multiple levels. Alciphron's reader is to take the internal audience's possible responses into consideration and is expected to reflect on whether a fisherman can be expected to understand the mythological complexities of his proverbial comparisons. Indeed, his readers may find themselves accepting the implicit challenge posed by Alciphron to examine how much further such a comparison may be taken, and will, in turn, find it to be either fruitful or in vain. Irrespective of the outcome of such an inquiry, however, the inquiry itself is a logical and required step for the reader.

Having presented an overview of mythological references in the four books of Alciphron's *Letters* and shown how they may be read as specific to each of them, I wish now to draw attention to a selection of related examples that show how Alciphron's fictive writers work with similar repertoires but treat them in markedly different ways. The authors do this with respect to very different mythological narratives and genres, yet consistently; and this paradigm allows the external reader to re-encounter some of the same themes and myths multiple times over the course of the collection, and him or her to reflect on the manners in which they are used in different contexts and to different ends.

As briefly discussed above, the comparison of a lover to a mythological figure is a common theme throughout the *Letters*, but nowhere more prominent than in the *Letters of Fishermen* and *Letters of Courtesans*, notably the two extremes of the hierarchical registers. To begin with the *Courtesans*, in 4.19, Glycera's reply to Menander's letter (4.18), Glycera introduces the figure of Ariadne.[28] Not only responding to Menander's invitation to Egypt, but also reflecting on her own role as the playwright's lover, Glycera first imagines being separated from Menander, then vows that she will not allow this to come to pass:[29]

> Ἐγὼ γάρ σε οὐκ ἀπολείψω· μὴ τοῦτο δόξῃς με λέγειν, οὐδ' αὐτὴ δύναμαι κἂν θέλω· (9) ἀλλὰ παρεῖσα τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς ναυτὶς ἔσομαι συμπλέουσά σοι· καὶ σφόδρα τῶν εὐθαλάσσων γεγένημαι, εὖ οἶδα, κἂν ἐκκλωμένης κώπης ναυτιᾷς ἐγὼ θεραπεύσω. θάλψω σου τὸ ἀσθενοῦν τῶν πελαγισμῶν, ἄξω δέ σε ἄτερ μίτων Ἀριάδνη εἰς Αἴγυπτον, οὐ Διόνυσον ἀλλὰ Διονύσου θεράποντα καὶ προφήτην. (10) οὐδὲ ἐν Νάξῳ καὶ ἐρημίαις ναυτικαῖς ἀπολειφθήσομαι τὰς σὰς

28 I discuss this letter, alongside its parallel letter (4.18; Menander to Glycera), in detail in my doctoral thesis, *Re-writing Ariadne: Following the Thread of Artistic and Literary Depictions of Ariadne's Abandonment* (University of Oxford, 2018).

29 The Greek text and English translation are taken from Benner and Fobes' *Loeb* edition [1949].

> ἀπιστίας κλαίουσα καὶ ποτνιωμένη. χαιρέτωσαν οἱ Θησεῖς ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τὰ ἄπιστα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀμπλακήματα.
>
> 4.19.8–10

> For I shall not leave your side; don't imagine that is what I mean—I couldn't even if I would. No, I shall give up my mother and my sisters and become a sailor-woman, voyaging with you. I will comfort you in the suffering the voyage causes you, and I will bring you to Egypt—I another Ariadne but needing no thread, and you not Dionysus himself but Dionysus' servant and spokesman. Nor shall I be left behind on Naxos or on any other desert shore, bewailing your faithlessness and crying aloud in indignation. A long farewell to such lovers as Theseus and to the treacherous crimes of the men of yore!

This statement is implication-rich for both Glycera and Menander, yet, although the letters themselves are among the most famous from this collection, the mention of Ariadne has received scarcely any attention.[30] Though general connections between Alciphron's *Letters of Courtesans* and Ovid's *Heroides* have been drawn,[31] Ariadne's and Glycera's letters have not been read together.

As emphatic as the rejection of this comparison with Ariadne is, both Glycera's letter and Menander's are brimming with more and less overt references to the Cretan princess' myth,[32] and especially to its presentation in literary works such as those of Catullus and Ovid. Once Ariadne is introduced into the letter-exchange, the reader is able to follow the thread of Ariadne-references throughout the two letters. A rereading of the letters from an Ariadne-centric point of view, of course, has potential to upset the initial picture of Menander's and Glycera's relationship as presented by Menander and, at first reading, also by Glycera herself.[33] Menander's reference to the many oaths he has sworn to Glycera (4.18.1) and his promises to grow old with her, even to join her in death (4.18.3), might at first sight be taken as sincere and as indication of his true

30 Even Bungarten's detailed commentary on the two letters only deals with the Ariadne reference as a stock theme rather than as a meaningful narrative: Bungarten [1967: 131–134].

31 See, e.g., Rosenmeyer [2001a: 298–307].

32 In my DPhil thesis, *Re-writing Ariadne*, I draw attention to the connections drawn between the cultural and artistic environments of Ptolemy's Egypt and Minos' Crete, especially the works of Daidalus.

33 Compare Aelian, *Letters of Farmers* 12, where the addressee, Lamprias, is compared to Hippolytus. This comparison adds meaning to the previous letter, in which Lamprias himself expresses fear of his father. The mythological reference affirms Lamprias' fear and heightens the violent potential of the father's response.

devotion to his beloved.[34] Indeed, the mention of growing old and dying alongside each other may evoke stories of love and devotion, such as that of Philemon and Baucis.[35] Read against Ariadne's story, however, these oaths should be seen as emblematic of a fragile relationship,[36] even one that is ill-fated. Similarly, Glycera's proclamation that she will not be another Ariadne, while at first seeming to highlight her confidence in her relationship, may equally well be seen as portraying her insecurity and her fear of abandonment. Seen in this light, Glycera's proverbial reference to Theseus' faithlessness, her dismissal of those Theseuses (4.18.10),[37] begins to function on a level beyond the proverbial; it takes on meaning based on its use within a specific context, a related narrative. While Alciphron's readers may recognise the proverbial nature of οἱ Θησεῖς ἐκεῖνοι, they are invited to look beyond and to challenge the idiom.

We can set aside for the time being these specific readings of Glycera's Ariadne and Theseus. What a closer mythological reading of these two letters reveals, however, is crucial to this chapter's argument: a proverbial or otherwise seemingly conventional mythological reference can take on meaning where appropriately related to the letter's context, and where read with a proper understanding of the (literary) origins of the proverb. Theseus' proverbial faithlessness in Glycera's letter can be related to the literary tradition of Theseus' breaking his oaths, injuring his relationship not only with Ariadne, but also with the gods.[38] Once situated in this context, the image of a woman fearing abandonment becomes more powerful, and Ariadne's and Glycera's narratives begin, at least rhetorically, to blend together. Ariadne, a mythological figure whose very existence in the literary arts is dependent on the presence of a male counterpart, becomes a symbol of the courtesan's own experience of a profession dependent on male favour. Her story reflects both the high aspirations and the deepest fears of the female letter-writers of this book, much as Ganymede does for those of the parasites. Ariadne's fate may even be seen to

34 This may be compared to Thais' statement that courtesans, being god-fearing women, trust their lovers' oaths, treating them as binding contracts with the gods (4.7.4–5).

35 Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 8.611–724.

36 Catullus' Ariadne and her literary successors blame Theseus not only for abandoning her, but also for breaking his promise to take her with him to Athens, often depicting his promises or oaths as having been thrown to the winds. "See, e.g., Catullus" 64.59, 143; Ovid, *Her.* 10.73–76. Compare also Ovid, *Fast.* 3.485.

37 Tsirimbas [1936: 8–9] argues that Theseus' name is here used proverbially, adding further to the generic scene Glycera purports to be presenting.

38 Especially Catullus' Ariadne appears to have the gods on her side, as Jupiter can be seen to grant her curse that Theseus' forgetfulness (or rather his faithlessness) be punished in equal measure (Catullus 64.192–211).

justify the petty jealousies of the courtesans and their attitudes toward their Adonis-lovers discussed above.

In presenting such seemingly proverbial references in this manner, then, Alciphron offers his readers different perspectives on the same letter. For a reader unconcerned with the mythological implications, the reference does not take on the same meaning it does for one picking up the spoor, or following the mythological thread, so to speak. It is ultimately left to the reader to identify the mythological references and to draw new connections with other references to the same or similar myths.

In the *Letters of Fishermen*, for instance, we encounter seemingly generic warnings against greedy female lovers, who are compared to Scylla (1.21) and Charybdis (1.6).[39] While both comparisons are arguably appropriate for a world deeply dependent on the sea, and even seem visually appealing, we might yet notice the oddness of the objects of comparison, since neither Scylla nor Charybdis is represented as a greedy lover in ancient myth.[40] The two figures have, however, at this point in literary and linguistic history, become proverbial rather than mythological: their names are invoked to augment the description of characters considered exceptionally greedy, relentless, and destructive to individuals and communities alike.[41] In his *Love Letters*, Philostratus, too, draws on the image of Charybdis to characterise a particularly possessive lover who greedily takes control of him. Yet, for Philostratus' letter-writer, this comparison does not suffice, as he claims that his lover's powers, and therefore her destructive force, is far greater than that of Charybdis.[42] Following Philostratus' model,[43] Alciphron's reader may also wish to examine the fish-

39 It is worth noting that two letters from the *Letters of Farmers* (2.31 and 2.32), employ a very similar image of a seductress swallowing a man's possession, but notably without any comparison to mythological or proverbial figures.

40 While the figure of the Homeric Charybdis remains unchanged throughout Greco-Roman literature, Scylla's is reshaped in later periods. Scylla's body is initially described as thoroughly monstrous (e.g., *Od.* 12.85–100), but visual representations (see *LIMC s.v.* 'Scylla') and later literary descriptions (e.g., Lucretius 5.892; Ovid, *Met.* 13.730–14.74, esp. 14.59–67) show her as a hybrid with a woman's upper body and a bestial lower body. Some later literary treatments of the myth very much humanise Scylla, with Ovid claiming her monstrous body as one of his changed shapes (*Met.* 14.59–67). Indeed, Ovid depicts Scylla as a beautiful Nereid—unwillingly desired by Glaucus—changed into a monster by Circe out of jealousy. These shifts in Scylla's myth and the later conflation with Nisus' daughter Scylla (e.g., Virgil, *Eclogues* 6.74–77; cf. Callimachus, *Hecale* fr. 288 and Ovid, *Met.* 8.1–151) may well have contributed to Alciphron's choice here.

41 See Tsirimbas [1936: 13–14].

42 Philostratus, *Love Letters* 50.

43 See Goldhill [2009: 296–298] on the didactic nature of Philostratus' *Love Letters*.

ermen's references to Scylla and Charybdis more closely and to push further the mythological limitations of such proverbial characterisations by taking into consideration the individual letter-writers' contexts and the concerns that lead them to invoke these mythological monsters in the first place. Panope's warning to her husband in 1.6 does not serve primarily to show her concern for her husband's squandering money on a harlot, but rather to highlight her fear of losing a husband who has already stopped caring for her and their children. In this case, the reader may wonder whether Charybdis provides the most apt comparison; perhaps a foreign mythical seductress such as Circe or Calypso might more closely mirror the woman Panope fears and is angered by.

In 1.21, on the other hand, Euploüs warns his friend of the destructive nature of his beloved, again emphasising her greediness. The comparison made here, unlike in Panope's letter, is with Scylla, and is decidedly more nautical on the whole. The girl in question, most likely a city girl, is presented as the land-based version of Scylla's sea-based destructive force. The destruction is, of course, metaphorical: where Scylla destroys a man's life by destroying his ship and taking his life, the girl destroys a man's life by seducing him and by subsequently taking all his possessions, leaving him entirely vulnerable. Again, Scylla's proverbial destructiveness does not take into account the girl's seductive power. Here also, the reader might be reminded of other mythological sea-born figures whose seduction is detrimental to a man's life rather than to his wife's as above—and continuing with the Odyssean model, we may recall the threat posed by the Sirens.[44] Both references, then, while similar on the surface, betray different underlying concerns and fears. The reader, by taking the mythological references further, is able to decode these underlying messages and to supply further mythological substance to the writer's arguments, taking it from a proverbial to a truly mythological and even literary level.

Interestingly, Alciphron offers a response to the second of these letters, in which the writer defends himself against his friend's accusations, citing the sea-born Aphrodite as his guide in the matter (1.22). Thalasseros clarifies that rather than comparing his beloved with a sea monster, such as Scylla or Charybdis, he prefers to think of her as a beautiful nereid, such as Panope or Galatea. In providing this comparison, the letter-writer continues the mythological and sea-based motif begun by Panope's letter to her husband. He devises a maritime *milieu* for his girlfriend in the city, highlighting the need to give his correspondent an appropriate context, to make his feelings known in a way comprehensible to a fellow fisherman. In light of his comrade's warning and

44 Homer, *Od.* 12.37–200.

the comparison of the beloved with Galatea, we may recall Polyphemus' obsession with the beautiful nereid and the spectacle he made of himself in pursuing her.[45] Perhaps even more importantly, however, the two nereids mentioned are the namesakes of other letter-writers in this book, most notably Panope of 1.6, whose husband abandoned her for a merciless Charybdis. The image of the greedy beloved, the foolish lover, and his long-suffering wife has come full circle here, as Thalasseros demonstrates when what he needs to be happy is right in front of him, in his own domain. As much as the fishermen bemoan their plight, their letters tend to show an understanding that a familiar world is still preferable to the unfamiliar or unknown: those who would leave behind the world of the fishermen are ridiculed throughout. The fishermen's struggles with their world are here played out through a set of mythological comparisons, proverbial at first glance, but extremely rich in their implicature when read together.

When reading some of the complaints voiced in the *Letters of Courtesans*, the attentive reader will be reminded of these Scyllas of the land, or of the city even, out to destroy men's livelihood, but is offered a different perspective on the matter. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the courtesans themselves do not deem their desire for money and gifts a mark of greediness, but merely good economics: Petale's complaint that her lover's elegiac tears and laments will not pay her bills (4.9) is but one example. That such a profit-oriented lifestyle should seem greedy and destructive to a fisherman's friend or to his wife is perhaps unsurprising. Alciphron's readers, however, are offered both perspectives to reflect on, and in their role as internal audience, they may be expected to sympathise with both. Furthermore, as readers of the work as a whole, they may link the different letters, weighing up the opinions, and may wonder to what extent the courtesan's letter should be read as a defence against the charges brought forth in the earlier books. It is left to the reader, then, to recognise these links and to consider the different generic and mythological readings, as well as their potential to create a unity within the work.

One consequence of paramount importance to the reader's involvement in the creation of meaning is, of course, that the reader's own predispositions lead him or her to recognise or appreciate some myths more readily than others. Following from the earlier observations concerning Glycera's Ariadne letter, for instance, the motif of lament and abandonment can be found

45 See, e.g., Ovid, *Met.* 13.738–897. Such a comparison could then be linked to other letters referring to lovers or would-be lovers who do not meet the standards of their beloved, who express annoyance, even disgust, at them: e.g., 4.17. As discussed above, many of these letters, in turn, compare the ugly old lover to mythical figures, creating a complex mythological web for the reader to unravel.

throughout the *Letters*, especially among the fishermen's. *Letters* 1.2 and 1.8 are of particular interest in this context. Neither of these letters explicitly mentions a myth or draws a mythical parallel; yet it is possible to detect the same themes as in Glycera's letter—abandonment, loneliness, and the lament of the forsaken—linking them to Ariadne, as well as to other abandoned heroines. In 1.2, Galenaeus relates his colleague's decision to abandon his work, leaving his master and fellow fishermen to lament the loss. The image of a trusted person, on whom the letter-writer relies, taking leave in a boat, abandoning the writer to fend for himself is, of course, familiar from *Heroides* 10, the letter written by Ariadne on Naxos. To compare a woman abandoned on shore to a group of fishermen, short-handed because of the untimely departure of a colleague, is a somewhat eccentric, if droll, literary choice. In the imagined world of fisher-correspondents, it is conceivable that the earnest internal reader might find pathos in the fishermen's struggle. The external reader, however, whether he or she marks the Naxian allusion or not, is more likely to find the humour in the flouted expectations. In any case, recognising the underlying mythological reference affords the reader a new perspective on the letter's narrative—and on Alciphron's subtle inter- and intratextual games.

Letters 1.8 tells the story of Eucolymbus, who, distraught over some misfortune, looks to his wife for advice, but not before telling his woes to the winds. Here again we hear an echo of Ariadne's lament, for both her Ovidian and Catullan incarnations specifically tell their story "to the winds". While, for the princess, this is for lack of an actual, human audience,[46] Eucolymbus chooses the winds over an actual audience out of embarrassment. The connection, though heightened by its internal reference to *Letters* 4.19, is again a loose one and it is through the reader's projection that it is made; Alciphron's text offers the basic cues for such interpretations, but it is ultimately the reader's background that informs the act of reading and, consequently, the creation of meaning. This makes such a connection a possible, if perhaps not intended, one. Indeed, the presence of these more and less oblique references to myths facilitates precisely this kind of projection; they allow the external reader to contextualise the events and remarks of the individual letters within broader narratives. As with dramatic irony, these references to mythology tease the external reader with foreshadowing parallels, drawing him or her further into the stories. Over the course of Alciphron's work, we find intertextuality not only between the letters, but also between these references, which, when they recur

46 Cf. Cat. 64.164–166; Ovid, *Her.* 10.21–23.

in different settings and different social and linguistic registers, provide all the more richness to the attentive reader.

3 The Act of Reading and the Creation of Meaning

It has often been noted that, since many of these letters remain unanswered within the collection, Alciphron leaves open to the reader the opportunity to project his or her own views and tastes onto the narrative morsels provided.[47] This notion can easily be expanded to include mythological readings, as they, too, afford readers the opportunity to explore alternative narratives and to forge their own (mythologically-oriented) responses to the letters. There are three letters written by three otherwise unconnected parasites (3.26, 3.27, and 3.33) that are of particular interest in this context.[48] Each of the three writers is concerned with keeping a secret from his master on behalf of his mistress. Scordolepisus in 3.26 relates the advances of his mistress' lover, Philomageirus, in 3.27, writes about an illicit child born to, and abandoned by, his mistress, while Triclinosarax, in 3.33, laments the consequences he suffered after telling the master of his wife's affairs. Whereas Scordolepisus and Philomageirus refrain from revealing their secrets—for the time being anyway—Triclinosarax regrets his choice not to have done the same. The narrative may be taken literally here, perhaps leaving the reader to wonder whether, were Triclinosarax to address and advise the other two, he might dissuade them from speaking out, so that might avoid a similar fall from grace and loss of credibility in their master's eyes. But for a mythologically inclined reader, a series of stories about tattletales unwilling to heed such advice springs to mind. In his *Hecale* (fr. 260.18 ff. 55–61), Callimachus tells the stories of the raven and the crow, both initially favourites of gods, the raven of Apollo and the crow of Athena.[49] Both birds report on one trusted and loved by the god and find themselves punished for speaking the truth. Moreover, in Ovid's version of the tale, the stories are linked through the crow's warning to the raven to take her fate, her fall from grace, as an example, and the raven's insistence on ignoring this piece of advice. When Scordolepisus then claims to know exactly what would happen if he chose to betray the mistress' trust, readers familiar with myth- or fable-based parallels

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47 See, e.g., Goldhill [2009: 293].

48 The three letters in question are traditionally placed quite close to each other in the collection. On letter order in the work as a whole, see, e.g., Morrison in this volume.

49 The tattletale narratives are also treated in detail in Ovid, *Met.* 2.531–632.

might imagine a response warning him against his conclusions, knowing full well that he would likely not pay heed to their words.

In the *Letters*, the stories of the three potential tattletales are linked by virtue of appearing in the same book, but they are also distinct: as each story is presented independently and each remains unanswered, all are unresolved. One could certainly read these stories without seeking such a reference to myth, but the myths do offer the reader a way of linking the individual narratives, of creating his or her own narrative bridge, and of richly imagining the eventual outcome. Where an author such as Ovid, for instance, goes to great lengths to make his myths conform to a continuous narrative, Alciphron chooses here as elsewhere an open-ended presentation of his stories. Readers engaged with such mythological references may, themselves, fashion a sense of unity through their imagined responses, not only within each of the four books, but also within the collection as a whole.

4 Conclusion

I hope to have shown that studying Alciphron's use of mythological references offers further insight into the presentation of his various groups of 'low-lifes' and their engagement with their surroundings, physical and literary. While his readers are invited, even challenged, to reflect on the mythological references they encounter in all the letters, the initial formats of the references differ quite significantly: where fishermen and farmers tend to make explicit the myth to which they refer, parasites and courtesans are often more subtle in their approach, both idiosyncrasies perhaps being reflective of the literarily constructed social hierarchies within which these groups have been shown to operate. Irrespective of the fictive writers' engagement with them, however, all mythologically-charged passages allow for, and some even demand, further probing on the reader's part. A reader of Ovid might go so far as to wonder how an external narrator might link the stories told by the letter and by the myth, and how he might create a new string of stories, a *carmen perpetuum*, so to speak, based on these mythological references. As Alciphron stops short of doing this, the reader is offered the opportunity to take into his or her own hands the continuation of the narrative, in part through the exploration of mythological allusion and analogy.

The reader is, in any case, left to reflect on the extent to which the various letter-writers' frames of reference, their exposure—or lack thereof—to mythological narratives in both oral and literary traditions, influences their presentation of mythological subjects. Similar to references to works or characters in

other genres, references to mythological characters and their associated narratives provide us with insight into Alciphron's complex literary world, inviting the reader to explore it further throughout the work. That mythological motifs are handled in distinct ways in the four books, however, presents a continuous challenge to the reader to persist in engaging with the text and to recognise the subtleties of Alciphron's generic and register variations. While the different attitudes toward mythological comparisons and references may give the impression that the books should be treated separately and as distinct units, the mythological links drawn between them serve to highlight the variations in register, while simultaneously marking the collection as a unit.

CHAPTER 6

Women's Voices: Four or Five Women's Letters by Alciphron

Onofrio Vox

The 122 letters attributed to Alciphron (123 with frag. 5)[1] have been arranged, since the edition by Schepers,[2] in four groups according to the occupation of the letter writers: fishermen or sailors and their relatives (book 1), farmers or shepherds and their relatives (book 2), parasites (book 3), courtesans and their lovers (book 4). Letter writers and addressees can be identified only in 120 documents (121 if the title given in frag. 5[3] is accepted) and their identity is essential in order to recognize the author's intentions. This is because the genre of fictitious epistolography always requires a different construction of the discourse which is plausible and suitable to the specific character of the speaker (ἦθος) according to the rhetoric theory of *ethopoiia*.[4]

The letters from female senders are 27 in all (or 28 including frag. 5): just 3 in group 1 (1.6, 1.11, 1.12); 8 in group 2 (2.7, 2.13, 2.18, 2.22, 2.25, 2.31, 2.35, 2.37); 15 (or 16 with frag. 5) in group 4 (4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7, 4.9, 4.10, 4.12, 4.13, 4.14, 4.15, 4.16, 4.17, 4.19; frag. 5). These women are wives who frequently complain about their husbands and servants;[5] mothers complaining about their children's behaviour;[6] daughters addressing their mothers;[7] women, not just domestic servants, molested by violent men;[8] and lastly, courtesans addressing

1 Text and translation are quoted from Benner-Fobes [1949].
2 Schepers [1901] and [1905], on which see the previous papers by E. Marquis and A. Morrison.
3 See below for a discussion of frag. 5.
4 See Anderson [1997: 2201–2202]; Rosenmeyer [2001a: 260ff.]; Schmitz [2004: 90–91]; Vox [2013a].
5 Complaints about husbands: 1.6 Panope to Euthybolus, 2.22 Hyle to Nomius, 2.31 Anthylla to Coriscus. Complaints about servants: 2.18 Eunape to Glauce.
6 1.12 Charope to Glaucippe, 2.13 Phyllis to Thrasonides.
7 1.11 Glaucippe to Charope, 2.37 Philometor to Epiphanion.
8 2.7 Phoebiane to Anicetos, 2.25 Salaconis to Gemellus, 2.35 Epiphyllis to Amaracine.

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their lovers or their colleagues,[9] sometimes showing solidarity to the point that one of them writes using the collective "we".[10]

Among these 27 (or 28) letters from female letter writers, 12 (or 13) are also addressed to women: 1.11, 1.12, 2.18, 2.35, 2.37, 4.2, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.10, 4.14, 4.17; frag. 5. Some features of female discourse in Alciphron can be found in the letters sent from female senders to female addressees. Therefore, I first analysed four letters from different groups, 1, 2, 4, as examples, and then the exceptional text in frag. 5. The distinctive and homogeneous character of female voices in Alciphron seems to consist, mainly, but not exclusively, in the use of literary models not just from women authors but rather from female characters, on one side, and in a tone far from subordinate to the man's world on the other, which nevertheless remains dominant.[11] The female characters in Alciphron in fact inherit a marked distinction from the New Comedy in that courtesans are in opposition to other women—wives, daughters, maidservants—who are all subject to the authority of a *kyrios*.[12] If a homogeneous spirit of initiative emerges in all female characters, this is obviously more relevant especially in the letters of the courtesans, educated and witty, naturally "international" and almost corporately in agreement, to embody preferably the type of the courtesan *chresté*.[13]

Defining a unitary female discourse in Alciphron[14] is certainly difficult, while it is possible to recognize *more female discourses*, according to the principle of *poikilia*, which is operative not just in book 4; the examples I propose

9 Letters to lovers: 4.1 Phryne to Praxiteles, 4.7 Thais to Euthydemus, 4.9 Petale to Simalion, 4.12 Leaena to Philodemus, 4.15 Philumena to Crito, 4.16 Lamia to Demetrius, 4.19 Glycera to Menander. Letters to colleagues: 4.2 Glycera to Bacchis, 4.4 Bacchis to Phryne, 4.5 Bacchis to Myrrhine, 4.6 Thais to Thettale, 4.10 Myrrhine to Nicippe, 4.14 Megara to Bacchis, 4.17 Leontion to Lamia; so too perhaps the acephalous 4.13 "[A courtesan to her Lady Friend]" (conjectural heading in Benner-Fobes [1949: 243]).

10 Bacchis to Hypereides: the writer speaks on behalf of the entire corporation of courtesans (4.3.1 Πᾶσαί σοι ἴσμεν αἱ ἑταῖραι ...).—Note that female senders are missing in book 3: this could be a sign of incompleteness, or it could cast doubt upon the book arrangement proposed by Schepers. On book order see Morrison and Marquis in this volume.

11 As noted by Rosenmeyer [2001a: 276], for the letter 4.1: "the female voice in this passage challenges traditional structures of hierarchy and power relations: of male and female, sculptor and model, viewer and viewed, even flesh and stone."

12 For the distinction between wives, concubines, courtesans (Ps.-Dem. 59.122) see Miner [2003]; for courtesans see also Davidson [1997], Faraone and McClure [2006]. On the role of courtesans in the New Comedy: Brown [1990], Konstan [1995: 120–130].

13 For the culture attributed to courtesans: McClure [2003a].

14 A specific "female language" cannot be identified in Alciphron, whereas this was done for Attic tragedy, the comedy by Menander and Roman comedy. See respectively McClure [1999] on Attic tragedy, Bain [1984] and Ferrari [2014] on Menander and Dutsch [2008] on Roman comedy.

might clarify both Alciphron's work method and his intentions: his playing with literary tradition, which is continuously evoked and at the same time continuously distorted.

1 1.11–12

These two letters show an epistolary dialogue between mother and daughter, the only one between two female writers: in 1.11 Glaucippe writes to her mother Charope to reveal her desperation about the marriage that her father has arranged for her, and to confess her being in love with a handsome young man seen on the occasion of Oschophoria; in 1.12 the mother replies urging her daughter to come to her senses and to obey her father or she will suffer terrible punishment. The dialogue, then, is inspired by the *topos*, already in elegies, of the maiden in love with a man other than the one chosen by her father,[15] but it combines it with different themes.[16]

1.11 Γλαυκίππη Χαρόπῃ
(1) Οὐκέτ' εἰμὶ ἐν ἐμαυτῇ, ὦ μῆτερ, οὐδὲ ἀνέχομαι γήμασθαι ᾧ με κατεγγυήσειν ἐπηγγείλατο ἔναγχος ὁ πατήρ, τῷ Μηθυμναίῳ μειρακίῳ τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου, ἐξ ὅτου τὸν ἀστικὸν ἔφηβον ἐθεασάμην τὸν ὠσχοφόρον, ὅτε με ἄστυδε προὔτρεψας ἀφικέσθαι Ὠσχοφορίων ὄντων. (2) καλὸς γάρ ἐστι, καλός, ὦ μῆτερ, καὶ ἥδιστος, καὶ βοστρύχους ἔχει βρύων οὐλοτέρους, καὶ μειδιᾷ τῆς θαλάττης γαληνιώσης χαριέστερον, καὶ τὰς βολὰς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐστι κυαναυγής, οἷος τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκτίνων τῶν ἡλιακῶν ὁ πόντος καταλαμπόμενος φαίνεται. (3) τὸ δὲ ὅλον πρόσωπον αὐτὰς ἐνορχεῖσθαι ταῖς παρειαῖς εἴποις ἂν τὰς Χάριτας τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν ἀπολιπούσας καὶ τῆς Ἀργαφίας κρήνης ἀπονιψαμένας· τὼ χείλη δὲ τὰ ῥόδα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀποσυλήσας τῶν κόλπων διήνθισται ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων ἐπιθέμενος. (4) ἢ τούτῳ μιγήσομαι ἢ τὴν Λεσβίαν μιμησαμένη Σαπφὼ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς Λευκάδος πέτρας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν Πειραϊκῶν προβόλων ἐμαυτὴν εἰς τὸ κλυδώνιον ὤσω.

Glaucippe to Charope
(1) I am no longer myself, mother; I cannot endure the thought of being married to the boy from Methymna, the sea-captain's son to whom father recently promised to betroth me; I have felt this way ever since I saw

15 See *e. g.* the love story of Acontius and Cydippe in Callim. frag. 75 Pf (but Cydippe bound herself to Acontius through an involuntary oath).
16 For this letter see Rosenmeyer [2001a: 260–261, 292]; Hodkinson [2007: 290–292, 297].

the young guardsman from the city, the one who carried the vine-branch when, at your bidding, I went there on the occasion of the Oschophoria. (2) He is beautiful, mother, beautiful, the sweetest thing, and his locks are curlier than sea-moss, and his smile is more charming than the sea in a calm, and the radiance of his eyes is like the dark blue of the sea, as it appears in the first moment of illumination by the sun's rays. (3) And his whole face—you might say that the Graces themselves have left Orchomenus and, after bathing in the Argaphian spring, are dancing in his cheeks; and his lips—he has filched the roses from the bosom of Aphrodite and tipped his lips with their bloom. (4) I intend to have this man, or, if I can't, I shall follow the example of Lesbian Sappho: not indeed from the Leucadian cliff but from the jutting rocks of the Piraeus I shall hurl myself into the surf.

1.12 Χαρόπη Γλαυκίππῃ

(1) Μέμηνας, ὦ θυγάτριον, καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐξέστης. ἐλλεβόρου δεῖ σοι, καὶ οὐ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Φωκίδος Ἀντικύρας, ἥτις, δέον αἰσχύνεσθαι κορικῶς, ἀπέξεσας τὴν αἰδῶ τοῦ προσώπου. (2) ἔχε ἀτρέμα καὶ τὴν κατὰ σεαυτὴν ῥάπιζε, τὸ κακὸν ἐξωθοῦσα τῆς διανοίας. εἰ γάρ τι τούτων ὁ σὸς πατὴρ πύθοιτο, οὐδὲν διασκεψάμενος οὐδὲ μελλήσας τοῖς ἐναλίοις βορὰν παραρρίψει σε θηρίοις.

Charope to Glaucippe

(1) My dear, you are mad, and truly out of your wits. A dose of hellebore is what you need, and not the common kind either, but the kind that comes from Anticyra in Phocis—you who, instead of being shame-faced as a girl should be, have wiped all modesty from your countenance. (2) Hold steady and whip on your own course, thrusting the evil thing from your thoughts. Why, if your father should hear of any of these goings-on, he will not stop to think but will throw you to the sharks for food.

The contrast between the two speakers' perspectives is well highlighted by the stylistic gap between the two letters; nevertheless, they have in common the constant attention to marine imagery[17] on the one hand, and on the other,

17 Some comparisons with the marine world appear even in the idealized description of the urban youth with whom Glaucippe is in love: τὰς βολὰς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐστι κυαναυγής, οἷος τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίνων ὁ πόντος καταλαμπόμενος φαίνεται (1.11.2), with the comment by Conca [1974: 420]. The nexus βολαί τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, which also appears in 3.31.1, derives from *Od.* 4.150 (ὀφθαλμῶν τε βολαί), then varied by A. frag. 242.2 R. (βλεμμάτων βολή); it will be imitated by Aristaen. 1.1.5 (ταῖς τῶν ὀμμάτων βολαῖς), but it is extremely fre-

the open or implicit allusions to the fictitious or literary reality of Lesbos. The groom, chosen for Glaucippe by her father, comes from Methymna (which could refer to the novel by Longus which is also strongly dominated by the Sapphic model).[18] Glaucippe's confession to her mother that she is deeply in love (1.11.1 Οὐκετ' εἰμὶ ἐν ἐμαυτῇ, ὦ μῆτερ) has a Sapphic flavour,[19] and the style is, not by chance, kept constantly elevated: the young speaker not only reveals her erudition when she hints at the Charites by Orchomenos, using the etymological pun ἐνορχεῖσθαι—'Ορχομενόν, and to the Argaphian spring,[20] she also explicitly quotes the myth of Sappho who, unhappy in love, threw herself from the cliff of Leucas, drawing from the *Leucadia* by Menander.[21]

It is also noteworthy that Glaucippe outlines an exceptional portrait (*ekphrasis*) of a young ephebe; she—female speaker, female narrator—reverses the stereotype of the male in love after seeing a maiden on a festive occasion. The speaker here draws on the Simaetha by Theocritus, the *pharmakeutria*, which describes the charming Delphis coming out of the gymnasium (Theoc. 2.76–80) in an exceptional idyll, urban rather than bucolic, and, like the letter of Alciphron, strongly marked by the Sapphic model.[22]

Her mother Charope's reply, instead, accidentally juxtaposes an almost tragic, comic and more humble[23] expression, and probably drops in yet another allusion to the biographical legend of Lesbos, that is to the legend of Pittacus

quent in sophistic prose and in late poetry, e.g. Mus. 94 (ἀπ' ὀφθαλμοῖο βολάων), Philostr. *Im.* 2.19.3 (βολαί τε ὀφθαλμῶν εὔσκοποι), Heliodor. *Aeth.* 7.7.7 (ταῖς βολαῖς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τῆς Χαρικλείας).

18 Methymneans are mentioned in *Daphnis and Chloe* 2.12–20; 2.25, 27, 29; 3.1–3, 27. On Sapphic presence in Longus' novel see Hunter [1983: 73–76], Pattoni [2004]. On the relationship between Longus and Alciphron see Hunter [1983: 6–13].

19 See Sapph. 102 V.: γλύκηα μᾶτερ, οὔτοι δύναμαι κρέκην τὸν ἴστον / πόθῳ δάμεισα παῖδος βραδίναν δι' Ἀφροδίταν.

20 1.11.3 αὐτὰς ἐνορχεῖσθαι ... ἀπονιψαμένας: the etymological pun ἐνορχεῖσθαι—'Ορχομενόν as in Euph. 163 Lightfoot ('Ορχομενὸν Χαρίτεσσιν ἀφαρέσιν ὀρχηθέντα) quite likely suggests that the mention of the source also derives from Hellenistic poetry; cf. Parth. frag. 56 L. (frag. dub.).

21 1.11.4 τὴν Λεσβίαν ... πέτρας presumes the knowledge of the Sapphic legend and of the ancient topography of Leucas according to Men. *Leucadia*, frag. 1.11–14 Arnott: οὗ δὴ λέγεται πρώτη Σαπφὼ / τὸν ὑπέρκομπον θηρῶσα Φάων' / οἰστρῶντι πόθῳ ῥῖψαι πέτρας / ἀπὸ τηλεφανοῦς (from Str. 10.2.9 = Sapph. T 23 Campbell).

22 See Acosta-Hughes [2010: 16–29].

23 For 1.12.1 Μέμηνας, ὦ θυγάτριον, καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐξέστης, compare E. *Ba.* 359 μέμηνας ἤδη, καὶ πρὶν ἐξεστὼς φρενῶν. Instead, ἐλλεβόρου δεῖ σοι is a comic proverbial expression (see Tsirimbas [1936: 53]); cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 1489: πιθ' ἐλλέβορον; Men. frag. 63 K.-A.: (A.) ἐλλέβορον ἤδη πώποτ' ἔπιες, Σωσία; / (ΣΩ.) ἅπαξ. (A.) πάλιν νῦν πῖθι· μαίνει γὰρ κακῶς; Call. Com. frag. 35 K.-A. ἐλλεβοριᾶν.

of Mytilene who was invited to choose a wife of his own status,[24] before referring again to the tragic threat that her tyrannical father—following the comic model[25]—could throw her to the sea monsters.[26]

2 2.35

Epiphyllis writes to Amaracine telling her about having been violently seduced by a previous suitor, '*en plein air*', in a '*locus amoenus*' that became for her a '*locus horridus*'. In this letter, therefore, are mixed bucolic, comic, urban and novelistic elements.

> Ἐπιφυλλὶς Ἀμαρακίνῃ
> (1) Εἰρεσιώνην ἐξ ἀνθῶν πλέξασα ᾔειν ἐς ἕρμα Φαιδρίου τοῦ Ἀλωπεκῆθεν ταύτην ἀναθήσουσα. εἶτά μοι λόχος ἐξαίφνης ἀναφαίνεται νέων ἀγερώχων ἐπ' ἐμὲ συντεταγμένων· ὁ λόχος δὲ τῷ Μοσχίωνι συνέπραττεν. (2) ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸν μακαρίτην ἀπέβαλον Φαιδρίαν, οὐκ ἐπαύσατό μοι πράγματα παρέχων καὶ γαμησείων· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀνηνάμην ἅμα μὲν τὰ νεογνὰ παιδία κατοικτείρουσα ἅμα δὲ τὸν ἥρω Φαιδρίαν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τιθεμένη. ἐλάνθανον δὲ ὑβριστὴν ὑμέναιον ἀναμένουσα καὶ θάλαμον νάπην εὑρίσκουσα. (3) εἰς γάρ με τὸ συνηρεφὲς ἀγαγών, οὗ τὸ πύκνωμα συνεχὲς ἦν τῶν δένδρων, αὐτοῦ που κατὰ τῶν ἀνθῶν καὶ τῆς φυλλάδος, αἰδοῦμαι εἰπεῖν, ὦ φιλτάτη, τί παθεῖν ἐπηνάγκασε. καὶ ἔχω τὸν ἐξ ὕβρεως ἄνδρα, οὐχ ἑκοῦσα μὲν ὅμως δὲ ἔχω. καλὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀπείραστον εἶναι τῶν ἀβουλήτων, ὅτῳ δὲ οὐχ ὑπάρχει τοῦτο, κρύπτειν τὴν συμφορὰν ἀναγκαῖον.

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24 1.12.2 τὴν κατὰ σεαυτὴν ῥάπιζε, in the text restored by Post [1946], by comparison with Call. *Ep.* 1 and with the biographical tradition known to D. L. 1.80 (the marriage advice τὴν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἔλα; about the legend of Pittacus and the Callimachean epigram cf. Livrea [1995]). Cf. also in Alciphron the scornful invitation of Pheobiane to her suitor Anicetus: 2.7.2 τρέπου κατὰ σεαυτόν.

25 Tyrannical fathers are Demeas and Niceratos in *Samia* and especially Smicrines in *Epitrepontes*, where a very harsh dialogue between him and his daughter Pamphile takes place, in a rather incomplete passage, vv. 714–835 (see Arnott [2004: 276–279], Ireland [2010: 242–246]). For the situation of a daughter in despair defending her chosen husband against her father who orders her to leave him and marry again, cf. adesp. frag. 1000 K.-A. (possibly from Menander and certainly in *nea*), with the comment by F. Stama ("Fragmenta Comica" 28: Adespota Comica, Heidelberg: forthcoming). I am grateful to Paola Ingrosso (Bari) for these indications.

26 1.12.2 τοῖς ἐναλίοις βορὰν παραρρίψει σε θηρίοις recalls Eur. *Suppl.* 47 (θηρσὶν ὀρείοισι βοράν). On the tone of this letter see Iovine [2013: 125–126].

Epiphyllis to Amaracine

(1) I had plaited a harvest-wreath of flowers and was on my way to lay it on the cairn of Phaedrias, late of Alopece. Then all of a sudden there rose up before me a troop of high-spirited young fellows, banded together to molest me; confederates of Moschion they were. (2) For after I lost Phaedrias, of blessed memory, Moschion never stopped pestering me and trying to marry me: but I refused him, partly out of pity for my young children and partly because I had the noble image of my departed Phaedrias constantly before my eyes. I didn't know that, in refusing him, I was to bring upon myself a forced bridal and to find my marriage chamber in a wooded dell. (3) He brought me to the shaded grove—trees with thick foliage everywhere—and there, down among the blossoms and the leaves—modesty forbids me to tell, dearest, what he forced me to endure. So I have a husband won of outrage, against my will indeed, but yet I have him. It is well not to experience undesired things; but whoever has not that good fortune must needs keep his affliction to himself.

As Graham Anderson[27] noted, the tale of the violent seduction suffered by Epiphyllis recalls the action narrated in Ps.-Theoc. 27 (a bucolic composition possibly acephalous and difficult to ascribe)[28] in a strictly stichomythic dialogue between a shepherd, Daphnis, and a maiden.[29] During the dialogue the seduction is gradually described up to the intercourse, mentioned in the last verses by the maiden, who is bashful at first, and then by Daphnis himself (63–66):[30]

ΚΟ. Ἄρτεμι, μὴ νεμέσα σέο ῥήμασιν οὐκέτι πιστῇ.
ΔΑ. ῥέξω πόρτιν Ἔρωτι καὶ αὐτᾷ βοῦν Ἀφροδίτᾳ.
ΚΟ. παρθένος ἔνθα βέβηκα, γυνὴ δ' εἰς οἶκον ἀφέρπω.
ΔΑ. ἀλλὰ γυνὴ μήτηρ τεκέων τροφός, οὐκέτι κώρα.

27 Anderson [1997: 2193].

28 For this idyll see Sider [2001], and Kirstein [2007: 34–87] who considers both the dialogue and the entire composition complete (cf. especially 67–70; see also Cairns [2010]).

29 The girl's name should be Acrotime (Ἀκροτίμη) according to Edmonds's conjecture for the obscure ἄκρα τιμή transmitted at v. 44 (see Kirstein [2007: 60]). The dialogue might have been presented within a narrative structure, visible only in the final part (vv. 67–71^{b}: another two verses follow, 72–73, which could be interpreted as a further book appendix, eventually with debated meaning); Kirstein [2007: 74 ff.] posits a deliberate asymmetrical structure that starts with the dialogue *in medias res*.

30 Text and translation from Gow [1952].

> GI. Artemis, forgive me that I follow thy teaching no longer.
> DA. A heifer I will sacrifice to the Love-god and a cow to Aphrodite herself.
> GI. A maiden came I here, but go home a wife.
> DA. Wife, mother, and nurse of children, girl no more.

However, unlike the girl in Ps.-Theoc. 27, who goes from virgin (παρθένος) to wife and mother (γυνὴ μήτηρ τεκέων τροφός),[31] Epiphyllis is already a wife and a mother, faithful to her deceased husband and worried about her children (2.25.2 ἐγὼ δὲ ἀνηνάμην ἅμα μὲν τὰ νεογνὰ παιδία κατοικτείρουσα ἅμα δὲ τὸν ἥρω Φαιδρίαν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τιθεμένη). She is also a widow who, through the violent seduction she has suffered, enters into a new marriage (2.35.2 ἐλάνθανον δὲ ὑβριστὴν ὑμέναιον ἀναμένουσα καὶ θάλαμον νάπην εὑρίσκουσα), finding a new husband (2.35.3 ἔχω τὸν ἐξ ὕβρεως ἄνδρα). Furthermore, Epiphyllis is a widow—the only widow among the extant characters of Alciphron—who is molested while on her way to pay homage to her husband's tomb, somewhat like the inconsolable Matron of Ephesus (Petr. *Sat.* 110–111): a clear novelistic element.[32]

What Alciphron does by using the character of Epiphyllis, a widow seduced against her will (indeed, raped), but ready to accept the role of wife, is to invoke, though varying it, the *topos* of the wild erotic aggressiveness of a forceful widow, present in popular literature. Examples are the Milesian tale or the novel, from the Matron of Ephesus in Petronius to Melite of Achilles Tatius (only a presumed widow however), and from Ismenodora in Plutarch's *Eroticus* to the widow in the *Aesop Romance*.[33] After all, the *topos* of the widow who accepts her seducer as her new husband must have been revised, with comic plots in mind,[34] in addition to the bucolic seduction scene.

With regard to this letter, Philippe-Ernest Legrand in 1910 supposed, without being completely convinced however, that it derived from comedy because

31 A change possibly accepted with secret pleasure (Ps.-Theoc. 27.70: ὄμμασιν αἰδομένοις, κραδίη δέ οἱ ἔνδον ἰάνθη "with downcast eyes though her heart was glad within her"), as Anderson still notes [1997: 2193].

32 About the narrative motif of the tomb Lateiner [2012: 71 n. 23] observes: "The tomb motif symbolizes several things: the sealed virgin, the unfulfilled woman, the 'no man's land' of the living dead. At least Chariton (1.7–8), Xenophon (3.8), Heliodorus, and *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* share it. Apuleius has a wicked man entomb himself (*Met.* 8.14). Petronius' 'widow of Ephesus' (*Sat.* 110–111) differently develops the possibilities."

33 See Drago [2007: 552]. For some variations on the novelistic topos cf. Papademetriou [2009: 67–70, 75–77]. For the condition of widows in ancient Greek society in general see Walcot [1991].

34 On violence on women in Menander's plots see Traill [2008: 298].

of its reference to honouring the dead.[35] Melissa Funke newly points out, with good reasons, that the violent molester of Epiphyllis, her new husband, is called Moschion, the name of a character in many comedies written by Menander, while her dead husband's name was Phaidrias, another name from Menander used by Alciphron in 3.27, where he probably alludes to the *Epitrepontes*.[36] In my opinion, it is possible that the name Moschion again refers to the action in *Samia*, where the character himself confessed to have seduced Plangon, expressing the same reticence, in vv. 47–49: ὀκν]ῶ λέγειν τὰ λοίπ', ἴσως δ' αἰσχύνομαι / οἷς] οὐδὲν ὄφελός ἐσθ' ὅμως αἰσχύνομαι. / ἐκύ]ησεν ἡ παῖς. Epiphyllis, too, uses *aposiopesis*, but she shifts the anaphora from the confession of being ashamed (αἰσχύνομαι ... ὅμως αἰσχύνομαι) to the resigned observation that she now has a husband (ἔχω τὸν ἐξ ὕβρεως ἄνδρα, οὐχ ἑκοῦσα μὲν ὅμως δὲ ἔχω).[37]

The self-mocking tone of Epiphyllis's letter cannot escape our attention; it is revealed in the final *gnome* that expresses the necessity of hiding unpleasant and unwanted experiences (2.35.3 καλὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀπείραστον εἶναι τῶν ἀβουλήτων, ὅτῳ δὲ οὐχ ὑπάρχει τοῦτο, κρύπτειν τὴν συμφορὰν ἀναγκαῖον). This sharp *gnome* inevitably raises a question: why does the character of Epiphyllis write a letter to reveal such violence?[38]

3 4.1

The courtesan Phryne writes to the sculptor Praxiteles, who modelled the statue of Aphrodite in the sanctuary of Eros in Thespiae on her, and, almost identifying herself with the statue, invites him to go to the sanctuary to join her.

> **Φρύνη Πραξιτέλει**
> ... μὴ δείσῃς· ἐξείργασαι γὰρ πάγκαλόν τι χρῆμα, οἷον δή τι οὐδεὶς εἶδε πώποτε πάντων τῶν διὰ χειρῶν πονηθέντων, τὴν σεαυτοῦ ἑταίραν ἱδρύσας ἐν τεμένει. μέση γὰρ ἕστηκα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τοῦ Ἔρωτος ἅμα τοῦ σοῦ. μὴ φθονήσῃς δέ μοι τῆς τιμῆς· οἱ γὰρ ἡμᾶς θεασάμενοι ἐπαινοῦσι Πραξιτέλη, καὶ ὅτι τῆς σῆς τέχνης γέγονα οὐκ ἀδοξοῦσί με Θεσπιεῖς μέσην κεῖσθαι θεῶν. ἓν ἔτι τῇ δωρεᾷ

35 Legrand [1910: 260].
36 With regard to this last name M. Funke [2015: 304 n. 30] finds that "Alciphron may have distributed plot elements from *Epitrepontes* across multiple letters."
37 For the *praeteritio* see Bruzzese [2011: 96–97].
38 I will return to Epiphyllis's thoughts in the conclusion.

λείπει, ἐλθεῖν σε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ἐν τῷ τεμένει μετ' ἀλλήλων κατακλινῶμεν. οὐ μιανοῦμεν γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς οὓς αὐτοὶ πεποιήκαμεν. ἔρρωσο.

Phryne to Praxiteles

... have no fear; for you have wrought a very beautiful work of art, such as nobody, in fact, has ever seen before among all things fashioned by men's hands: you have set up a statue of your own mistress in the sacred precinct. Yes, I stand in the middle of the precinct near your Aphrodite and your Eros too. And do not begrudge me this honour. For it is Praxiteles that people praise when they have gazed at me;[39] and it is because I am a product of your skill that the Thespians do not count me unfit to be placed between gods. One thing only is still lacking to your gift: that you come to me,[40] so that we may lie together in the precinct. Surely we shall bring no defilement on the gods that we ourselves have created. Farewell.

The letter, being considered acephalous,[41] amounts to an unusual "invitation to a night of love", and it recalls epigrammatic motifs, because the speaker presents herself not only in flesh and blood but also like the statue placed in the sanctuary of Eros in Thespiae, and addresses the artist, her creator and lover at the same time: the *ethopoiia* of Phryne addressing Praxiteles assumes the perspective of the statue itself (... τὴν σεαυτοῦ ἑταίραν ἱδρύσας ἐν τεμένει. μέση γὰρ ἕστηκα ...).[42] Patricia Rosenmeyer grasped the ambiguous complexity of the letter, and showed that there is an allusion to the epigrammatic convention of the talking statue,[43] as well as an inversion of the *topos* of the artist in love with his own work and trying in vain to bring her to life, a *topos* shown in the Pyg-

39 Rosenmeyer [2001a: 252] translates "those wo have gazed at *us*" (οἱ γὰρ ἡμᾶς θεασάμενοι), referring both to Phryne as person(ification) and to Phryne as statue.

40 Rosenmeyer [2001a: 257] translates "to both of us" (πρὸς ἡμᾶς), referring to Phryne's two selves, as a person and as a representation.

41 Differently Rosenmeyer [2001a: 248].

42 The letter, then, follows the pattern of the *ethopoiia* of a courtesan, but it could also be defined as the *prosopopoiia* of a statue, according to the slight distinction between the talk of living human beings and the talk of objects or inanimate entities as outlined in manuals of rhetoric (*e. g.* Hermog., *Prog.*, VI 20 Rabe). It should also be noted that this is the only letter of Alciphron that clearly appears to have been sent from outside Attica. However, the letters sent by Bacchis, living in Corinth (cf. 4.2, Glycera to Bacchis in Corinth), should likewise be considered as coming from the same region (4.3 to Hypereides, 4.4 to Phryne, 4.5 to Myrrhina).

43 Rosenmeyer [2001a: 252].

malion myth: here Phryne, both a living person and a statue, invites her creator-lover to a night of love.[44]

It is probable, as it is for many letters by courtesans, historical characters (be they real or just literary inventions), that Alciphron must have revised information taken from some biographical *diegemata* regarding the relationship between Phryne and Praxiteles,[45] about the production of various statues, of Aphrodite or of the same Phryne, and also her commissioning of a statue of Eros for the sanctuary in Thespiae.[46] Moreover, Alciphron seems to know some epigrams about the two characters and their relationship, such as the ones we read in *Anthologia Palatina* and *Anthologia Planudea*.[47] After all, this letter belongs to a "cycle of Phryne", rich in details and different perspectives, where Alciphron appears to know different versions of the legend of the *hetaira*. Here the speaker writes to Praxiteles as if she was his lover,[48] but in 4.3, 4.4, 4.5 her lovers seem to be Euthias first and then Hypereides,[49] her actual lover.

Phryne's explicit invitation to Praxiteles to lie with her inside the sanctuary (ἓν ἔτι τῇ δωρεᾷ λείπει, ἐλθεῖν σε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ἐν τῷ τεμένει μετ' ἀλλήλων κατακλινῶμεν) is clearly scandalous; this is why it is immediately added that no defilement is intended because the statues of the gods around are also a joint artistic production (!) by Phryne and Praxiteles (οὐ μιανοῦμεν γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς οὓς αὐτοὶ πεποιήκαμεν): probably a reference to the accusation of impiety made

44 For Phryne and her legend see Rosenmeyer [2001a], but also Raubitschek [1941], Cavallini [1999: 22–54], McClure [2003a], Keesling [2006], and Havelock [1995], Morales [2011]. On the letter see also M. Funke in this volume.

45 See the information collected in Ath. 590d–592f; see especially McClure [2003a: 126–132]. However, this letter is defined as "historical fiction" by Rosenmeyer [2001a: 275], because of the doubts about the nature of the relationship between Phryne and Praxiteles as well as about the historical authenticity of Phryne herself. Similarly, the epistolary dialogue between Menander and Glycera (4.18–19) also proves to be "historical fiction".

46 Praxiteles would have shaped a statue of Phryne for Thespiae with one of Aphrodite according to Paus. 9.27.5, with one of Eros according to Plu. *Mor.* 753f.

47 For Phryne, Praxiteles and the Thespian Eros, see *A. P.* 6.260, 16.203–206; for other works of Praxiteles see *A. P.* 5.15, 16.159–163 and 165–170 (Cnidian Aphrodite), 6.317 and 16.262 (Danae, Nymphs, Pan), 12.56–57 and 16.167 (Eros), 16.129 (Niobe), 9.756 (Silens).

48 As it will be for Choric. *Decl.* 8 (see Kapitánffy [1994]).

49 If Hypereides wrote the speech he pronounced in Phryne's defence, he would have a golden statue dedicated to him by all the courtesans together (4.3.3): Εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν λόγον γράψαις τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Φρύνης, τότε ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς χρυσοῦν αἱ ἑταῖραί σε στήσαιμεν ὅπῃ ποτὲ βούλει τῆς Ἑλλάδος ("and furthermore, if you would write out the speech that you composed in Phryne's defence, then we courtesans would really and truly set up your statue in gold wherever in Greece you wish"). In other words, he would be honoured with a statue for his work as an orator, an honour that usually befell a courtesan. Once again an ironic sophistic distortion of reality!

against her (*asebeia*).[50] In my opinion, one can also grasp the ironic distortion of the experience attributed to Phryne, who, after spending a night in the same bed with the ever temperate Xenocrates without being touched, would have explained, using an obvious pun, "that he whom she quitted was not a *man* [ἀνδρός] but a *statue* [ἀνδριάντος]".[51]

By identifying herself with the statue of Aphrodite, Phryne recognises herself as a product of Praxiteles (ἐξείργασαι γὰρ πάγκαλόν τι χρῆμα … οὐδεὶς τῶν κατὰ χειρῶν πονηθέντων), but then she presents herself as the artistic assistant of Praxiteles in the production of the statues of Aphrodite and Eros (οὐ μιανοῦμεν γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς οὓς αὐτοὶ πεποιήκαμεν). In the double role of artistic product and artistic assistant, the courtesan Phryne lays claim to a high level of sophistic competence.[52]

Patricia Rosenmeyer considers the character Phryne, the sender of this letter with its special characteristics, an *alter ego* of the author Alciphron.[53] I would think that another enjoyable sophistic play can be identified in the competition between the sophist Alciphron, the external author of the letter, and the sculptor, the addressee of the fictitious letter: Alciphron succeeds in making Phryne speak as "internal author", not only as a human character of *hetaira*, but also as a statue produced by Praxiteles![54]

4 Frag. 5

The letter is certainly incomplete and it would appear to have been sent from an exceptional community of senders to an equally exceptional community of addressees (in Athens?). It intends to inform the recipient, grudgingly, about the growing popularity of the courtesan Laïs. It is certainly unusual that the letter comes from outside Athens, Corinth.[55]

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50 See Raubitschek [1941: 904].

51 D. L. 4.7 (transl. R.D. Hicks), cf. Val. Max. 4.3 *ext.* 3; see McClure [2003a: 128] (the anecdote is attributed to the *hetaira* Thais in Acro. *ad* Hor. *S.* 2.3.50).

52 See Rosenmeyer [2001a: 257]. In the exact same way as Glycera of Alciphr. 4.19, who presents herself as a creature and at the same time as an assistant of Menander (see Vox [2014]).

53 Rosenmeyer [2001a: 258–259].

54 In the same way in the epistolary couple of 4.18–19 he shows an exchange of letters between Menander, once a historical playwright, and here a mere literary character, and his character Glycera; see Vox [2014].

55 Bacchis, addressee of 4.2 and sender of 4.3–5, lives in Corinth; as indicated before, Phryne's letter (4.1) seems to come from Thespiae instead.

Αἱ ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἑταῖραι ταῖς ἐν ἄστει χαίρειν

(1) Οὐκ ἐπύθεσθε τὰ νεώτερα νῦν πράγματα; οὐκ ἠκούσατε καινὸν ἑταίρας ὄνομα; ὢ πόσον ἡμῖν ἐπιτετείχισται χρῆμα, Λαῒς ὑπὸ Ἀπελλοῦ τοῦ ζωγράφου θηριοτροφηθεῖσα. ἄθλιαι, κλείσατε τὰ ἐργαστήρια αὐτῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἑαυτὰς ἀποκλείσατε· (2) μία νῦν ἐστιν ἡ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὅλην διασοβοῦσα γυνή, μία· Λαῒς ἐν τοῖς κουρείοις, Λαῒς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις, ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, πανταχῇ· πάντες αὐτὴν λαλοῦσιν, νὴ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, καὶ οἱ κωφοὶ διανεύουσιν ἀλλήλοις τὸ ἐκείνης κάλλος· (3) οὕτω γλῶσσα γίνεται καὶ τοῖς λαλεῖν μὴ δυναμένοις Λαΐς. εἰκότως· ἐνδεδυμένη μὲν γὰρ εὐπροσωποτάτη ἐστίν, ἐκδῦσα δὲ ὅλη πρόσωπον φαίνεται, οὔτε κατάξηρος οὔτε κατάσαρκος, ἀλλ' οἵας λέγομεν ἡμεῖς τὰς ἰσχνεγχύλους. (4) τρίχες ἐνουλισμέναι φύσει, ξανθίζουσαι δὲ ἀφαρμάκευτα καὶ τῶν ἀκρωμίδων ὑπερκεχυμέναι μαλακῶς. ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ νὴ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ὅλης σελήνης εὐκυκλότεροι· καὶ τὸ μέλαν αἱ κόραι μελάνταται καὶ τὸ κύκλῳ λευκόν.

The Courtesans in Corinth Salute the Courtesans in Athens

(1) Haven't you learned the latest news? Haven't you heard a new name among courtesans? What a mighty thing has been built as a fort against us—Laïs trained for the arena by Apelles the painter! Close your establishments, wretched women, or rather shut yourselves up in them. (2) There is one woman now who has all Greece agog—just one: Laïs in the barber shops, Laïs in the theatres, in the assemblies, in the courts, in the council chamber, everywhere. All men have her on their tongues, by Aphrodite, and the deaf and dumb nod her beauty to one another; (3) so does Laïs give speech even to those who cannot talk. And it is only natural; for when she has on her clothes her face is wondrous fair, and when she has taken them off her whole body appears as fair as her face, neither wizened nor fleshy but the kind we call "spare and juicy." (4) Her hair is naturally curly, blond but unbleached, and falls softly over her shoulders. Her eyes, by our lady Artemis, are rounder than the full moon; and the pupils are the blackest of black, and the encircling white ...

However, despite Albin Lesky's defence, it is quite uncertain that the letter is authentic.[56] If one were to believe the title,[57] the letter would have been sent by multiple senders—the community of the courtesans in Corinth—to multiple addressees—the community of the courtesans in Athens. If only for this

56 Lesky [1929], Granholm [2012: 203–205].

57 "The extraordinary heading was very likely added by some late hand after the original heading (along with the end of the letter) had been lost" (Benner-Fobes [1949: 340 n. a]).

reason, it would be in total contrast to the genuine letters of Alciphron, that are always from an individual sender to an individual addressee.[58] The plurals "we" (1 ὦ πόσον ἡμῖν ...) and "you" (1 Οὐκ ἐπύθεσθε ... οὐκ ἠκούσατε ... κλείσατε ... ἀποκλείσατε ...) in the letter could in fact be used for a single sender and a single addressee; so, while "you" would mean that the addressee belongs to a group of *hetairae* from outside Corinth (perhaps Athenian *hetairae*), "we" would mean "all we *hetairae*" without distinction between different towns.[59] The letter writer would communicate to her correspondent the news, which would be quite alarming for all of them, of the growing popularity of Laïs: from an initial denigration (*psogos*) of the new rival, she moves to praise (*encomion*) unintentionally, in the appreciation of her clothed as well as naked body and then in the *ekphrasis* of her hair and eyes. This initial denigration of Laïs is expressed above all in the harsh metaphoric expression, used to refer to her training with the painter Apelles (frag. 5.1 Λαΐς ὑπὸ Ἀπελλοῦ τοῦ ζωγράφου *θηριοτροφηθεῖσα*), where the rare θηριοτροφεῖν means "train as a wild beast".[60] The following praise of Laïs seems to widen, including a list of her successes in every area of male society (frag. 5.2) as well as an analytical description of her beauty (frag. 5.3–4),[61] which, unfortunately, is unexpectedly incomplete.

The criticism of the popular Laïs from one courtesan to another could mirror the situation of a comedy such as the *Antilaïs* by Epicrates (4th BC) where, in frag. 3 K.-A., a speaker, possibly female, refers to a male interlocutor or perhaps to other women[62] about the metamorphosis of a now elderly Laïs, once an

58 The fact that the letter comes from Corinth has been inferred from the news about Laïs, a legendary hetaira who lived in Corinth. On two or three courtesans with the same name, see Paradiso [2009]. The destination of the letter to Athens cannot be found in the text of the letter, at least not in the residual fragment, so it must have been deduced by analogy with the usual setting in Attica of the letters in the Alciphron corpus.

59 So the plural is used in Alciphr. 4.3.1 (Πᾶσαί σοι ἴσμεν αἱ ἑταῖραι χάριν), 4.4.4 (ἡμῶν ... τῶν ἑταιρῶν), 4.5.3 (παρὰ πάσαις ἡμῖν) ...

60 By employing this verb, that will be used by Aristaen. 2.20.22, the "external author" hints maliciously through the writer (the "internal author") at the apprenticeship of Laïs with Apelles, garnered from the same sources normally used by Alciphron (see Ath. 588 c–d).

61 In this part, conspicuous is the use of the *hapax legomenon* ἰσχνεγχύλους, "a compound from ἰσχνός 'thin, lean' and ἔγχυλος 'juicy, succulent'" (Granholm [2012: 205]).

62 The identities of the speaker and the interlocutor are uncertain; the latter would be a male if we accept the vocative ὦ φίλτατε at v. 20 of the cod. C of Ath., as is usually preferred by the editors (*e. g.* Kassel-Austin). This is the hypothesis for speaker and interlocutor offered by Auhagen [2009: 70]: "Adressat dieser Schmährede ist ein Mann (ὦ φίλτατε, 20): Es könnte z.B. ein Vater seinen Sohn vor Hetären wie Laïs warnen und gleichzeitig mit gewisser Schadenfreude über deren Nöte im Alter berichten." On the other hand, accepting ὦ φίλταται of the cod. A, as well as identifying the female interlocutors, one can be led to believe that the speaker is a woman, another courtesan, as Olson [2007: 350] thinks:

extremely high-priced haughty peacock, now a meek animal ready to approach anyone in order to obtain money.[63] Furthermore, critics might well bear in mind the hostility of women towards Laïs as attested to in anecdotes about her rivalry with Phryne, and even her murder by jealous Thessalian women.[64]

5 Conclusions

Alciphron's characters (fishermen, farmers, parasites and courtesans) belong to marginal categories within the Attic society of the 4th century BC, as documented in literary sources. Within these categories that are not just socially peripheral (parasites, courtesans) but also topographically (seamen, farm workers), the female characters represent an even smaller, subordinate and marginal category. Nevertheless, these female speakers in Alciphron are able to express totally original reflections and statements. Moreover, the best, true exponents of *hetairae pepaideumenai* offer themselves as real Muses, eminently suited to inspiring Praxiteles (4.1) or Menander (4.18–19).[65] Apart from the courtesans, the types of characters in Alciphron's epistolography stylistically belong to the tradition of those characters (*ethe*) who are distinguished by "simple thoughts", especially women, according to the descriptive-normative system enunciated by Hermogenes of Tarsos (2nd century CE) on "simplicity", 'apheleia' (*On types of styles* 2.3).

> Καὶ τοῦτό γε ὁμολογούμενον, ὡς αἵ τε καθαραὶ ἔννοιαι πάντως ἂν εἶεν καὶ ἀφελεῖς αἵ τε αὖ ἀφελεῖς καὶ καθαραί. Ἰδίως δ' ἂν λέγοιντο ἀφελεῖς αἱ τῶν ἀπλάστων ἠθῶν καὶ ὑπό τι νηπίων, ἵνα μὴ ἀβελτέρων λέγῃ τις, οἷον τὸ περὶ πραγμάτων διεξιέναι τινῶν καὶ λέγειν αὐτὰ μηδεμιᾶς ἀνάγκης οὔσης μηδὲ ἐπερωτῶντός τινος, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἔχει τῶν Ἀνακρέοντος καὶ πάλιν τὰ Θεοκρίτου ἐν τοῖς βουκολικοῖς καὶ ἄλλων οὐκ ὀλίγων [...] λέγω δὲ ταύτας, αἳ καὶ παίδων γένοιντο ἂν νηπίων, ὡς ἔλεγον, καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐγγὺς ἡκόντων φρενῶν γε ἕνεκα τοῦ νηπίου

"most likely the denunciation is made by another courtesan, who views the aged Laïs as having betrayed the profession and is perhaps arguing that she ought to be replaced by the eponymous 'Antilaïs'. The speaker is addressing a number of women (20), probably other courtesans." In this second hypothesis the comparison with frag. 5 would be even closer.

63 The title of the comedy *Antilaïs* could also be interpreted as "Contre-Laïs, rival of Laïs" according to Clausevitz [2009: 211].

64 On the rivalry between Laïs and Phryne see Ath. 588e; on the murder of Laïs by jealous Thessalian women see Polem. frag. 44 Pr. (Ath. 589a), Plu. *Erot.* 767f, sch. Ar. *Plut.* 179b, Paus. 2.2.5.

65 On the courtesans as characters in Alciphron see the paper of Y. Rösch in this volume.

καὶ γυναίων ὡσαύτως καὶ γεωργῶν ἀγροίκων καὶ ὅλως ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν ἀφελῶν καὶ ἀκάκων ἀνθρώπων [...] Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ "ἀδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἁ πίτυς, αἰπόλε, τήνα" καὶ **τὰ πολλὰ τῶν βουκολικῶν**, ἵνα μὴ τὰ πάντα λέγω, τοιαῦτά ἐστι. καὶ παρὰ τῷ **Ἀνακρέοντι** δὲ ὡσαύτως· παρά τε αὖ τῷ **Μενάνδρῳ** μυρία ἂν εὕροις τοιαῦτα καὶ **γυναῖκας λεγούσας** καὶ **νεανίσκους ἐρῶντας** καὶ **μαγείρους** καὶ **παρθένους θρυπτομένας** καί τινας ἄλλους. Ὅλως τε διὰ τὸ ὑποπίπτειν τῷ ἠθικῷ λόγῳ πάντα τὰ τῶν τοιούτων προσώπων ἤθη, οἷον **λίχνων, γεωργῶν, τῶν ὁμοίων**, ταῦτα δὴ πάντα ἢ τά γε πλεῖστα αὐτῶν ὑποκεῖσθαι τῇ ἀφελείᾳ δεῖ, ἃ καὶ ἰδίως ἠθικὰ καλεῖται.

On admet généralement que les pensées pures sont toujours en même temps naïves et que réciproquement les pensées naïves sont en même temps pures. Cependant on appellera spécifiquement naïves les pensées des personnages ingénus et jusqu'à un certain point puérils, pour ne pas dire simplets, par exemple le fait de s'étendre sur certaines choses et de les dire sans aucune nécessité et sans que personne le demande, comme c'est le cas généralement chez Anacréon et encore chez Théocrite dans ses Bucoliques et chez beaucoup d'autres [...] j'entends par là ces pensées que pourraient former de jeunes enfants, comme je l'ai dit, et des hommes qui par l'esprit s'apparentent assez au jeune enfant, et de faibles femmes également et des paysans rustres, bref, pour parler franc, des gens naïfs et sans malice; [...] Mais l'énoncé: «Il est doux, chevrier, le chant que ce pin-là» et **la plus grande partie**, pour ne pas dire la totalité, **des Bucoliques** sont de cette sorte. De même chez **Anacréon**. Chez Ménandre encore on en trouvera des milliers d'exemples: **propos de femmes, de jeunes gens énamourés, decuisiniers**, de **jeunes filles maniérées** et de tels autres. Bref, puisque les éthè de telles personnes, **gourmands**, **paysans et autres semblables**, relèvent tous du discours éthique, ils doivent évidemment tous, ou du moins la plupart d'entre eux, appartenir à la naïveté, et c'est eux qu'on appelle spécifiquement éthiques.[66]

Nevertheless, Alciphron's fictitious epistolography, product of the sophistic culture that was fond of paradox,[67] employs the characters of "simple thoughts" taken from the poetic tradition of Anacreon, Menander and bucolic poetry, and juxtaposes this simple style with a markedly different style, that of deep and subtle thoughts, typical of complex, contrived characters. After all, Alci-

66 Text and translation from Patillon [2012: 137–138].
67 See Schmitz [2004].

phron's fictitious epistolography appears paradoxical also if we consider the way in which it is told. Initially, a letter takes the form of a "private talk", limited to two interlocutors, the sender and the addressee. It being a private conversation, it befits a female speaker since women were not often allowed to speak in public. The fictitious epistolography, however, paradoxically transforms a "private discussion" into a "public discussion", read or anyway enjoyed by a much wider audience (the "external reader") than the single addressee intended by the sender (the "internal reader").[68]

Considering all these paradoxes in Alciphron's epistolography, one cannot underestimate any of the female characters, not only the *hetairae* but also the women speakers in the groups of seamen and farm workers, not even the countrywoman Epiphyllis, who when ending the confession of her adventure notes: "It is well not to experience undesired things; but whoever has not that good fortune *must needs keep his affliction to himself*" (2.35.3) [my italics].

All in all, the character of Epiphyllis states the need "to keep to oneself" unpleasant experiences, the experience "of undesired things", but it is subject to the unspoken need to talk about them, a typical obligation of characters acting a monologue—characters, who have no will of their own.[69] This is not a "simple thought", in the words of Hermogenes, but rather the opposite: a thought concerning the code of acting or performing statements. This statement can naturally be regarded as illogical, compared to the speaker's features (the *ethos*), but it could be metaphorically intended as metaliterary, denoting Epiphyllis's suffering as another, different *hybris*, acted out, this time, by the external author, Alciphron. The external author would then have been overcome by a female character of his own creation.

68 The distinction between 'internal reader/addressee' and 'external reader' is outlined by Rosenmeyer [2001a: esp. 280, 307], expecially for the tension between internal reader and external reader(s) in Alciphron's letters. See also Schmitz [2004: 95ff.], Vox [2013a: esp. 205–210].

69 It is possible to compare the thought expressed by the urbanised countrywoman Philometor to justify the direct words that she uses to invite her mother Epiphanium to join her in town (2.37.3): Ἀνέχου δή, ὦ μῆτερ, τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι παρρησίας· καλὸν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἀνυποστόλως ὁμιλεῖν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ ἀναγκαῖον τὸ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἀληθίζεσθαι "Please don't mind my speaking out plainly in your own interest, mother; it's well to deal without restraint with all men, but above all must we speak the truth to our own kin."

CHAPTER 7

The Sea of Alciphron

Giuseppe Zanetto

1 Geographical Boundaries

It is well known that the world in which Alciphron's characters are supposed to live is the Athenian space of the 4th century BC.[1] Alciphron's farmers work in the Attic landscape and look to the town as an obvious reference point. Alciphron's bourgeoisie spends its time in the public spaces or in the private houses of the city, but they also are in contact with people living outside Athens, in other Greek towns, or even outside Greek territories.[2]

It seems to me that this is a core element of Alciphron's literary creation: the definition of a coherent geographical setting in which the stories as well as the thoughts and feelings of the characters are located. In this way the most relevant weakness of the epistolary genre, the lack of reality, can, to some extent, be mitigated. The situations are highly unrealistic. One could wonder for example why a fisherman should ask another fisherman to give him an old and useless fishing-net, or why should he do so in a letter and not in person.[3] The context, however, can be perceived as a real one, because it constantly points to places which exist (or formerly existed), connected to each other in a coherent and historically convincing relationship.[4]

1 Benner-Fobes [1949: 6]; Reardon [1971: 182]; Anderson [1977: 2188]; Rosenmeyer [2001a: 257–258]; Granholm [2012: 19]; Ureña Bracero [2013: 183]. See in particular [Schmitz 2004: 89]: "It is significant that this past is precisely the Athens of the fourth century BCE: for educated people in the Roman Empire, this city had become an intellectual home; it was perceived as the venue of the great heroic age that was the base of cultural identity for all those who considered themselves Ἕλληνες".

2 Rosenmeyer [2001a: 257].

3 Anderson [1977: 2200–2201]; Schmitz [2004: 95–96]; Vox [2013: 207]; but Hodkinson [2007: 291–292] argues that the use of epistolary communication can be in some cases psychologically well-founded.

4 Andreassi [2013] discusses at length the geography of Alciphron's parasites: he collects all the toponomastic references which are to be found in the third book of the *Letters* and shows that very rarely they are simply ornamental. More often, they are intended to re-create a context, in order to build a sort of physical platform which gives credibility to what is going on. The '*effet de réel*' produced by topographical details is stressed by Schmitz [2004: 92]. Of course,

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Let us now look at the habitat of Alciphron's fishermen. They live on the coast of Attica and their reference points are the harbours of Athens. Alciphron knows from his sources that classical Athens had two main harbours: Phaleron, the major port of the city until the beginning of the 5th century BC, and Piraeus. After the Persian Wars and the constitution of the Delian League, Piraeus became the most important harbour, both for the military fleet and for commercial activities, Phaleron gradually falling into disuse.[5] Phaleron, however, was still in use, at least for fishing, in Aristophanes' time and later: anchovies caught in the bay of Phaleron were regarded as a delicacy, as we learn from Ar. *Ach.* 901–902, *Av.* 76 and from comic fragments of the 5th and 4th centuries BC.[6] The possibility that Phaleron was a fishing area in Alciphron's time too cannot be ruled out. Phaleron is mentioned in the opening letter of the first book (1.1.4), when, following a miraculously bountiful catch of fish, the fish sellers flock to the beach to buy fish from the fishermen and then hurry back from Phaleron to the city (ἄστυδ' ἐκ Φαλήρων ἠπείγοντο). Another mention of Phaleron occurs in 1.14.2: here Thynnaeus describes what is taking place in all sea villages of Attica: officers of the Athenian navy are recruiting oarsmen for warships about to sail.[7] From west to east he mentions Piraeus, Phaleron and Sounion, then further east Cape Geraestus, on the southern tip of Euboea, which means that the eastern coast of Attica and the sea between Attica and Euboea are also taken into account.

The port of Piraeus was of course the living area for most of the Athenian fishermen: they had their houses and their boats there, they left the harbour in the evening and spent the night fishing in the Saronic gulf between the Attic coast and the islands of Salamis and Aigina, to come back home with their catch in the morning.[8] When Xenophon narrates an episode of the Corinthian war (a raid on Piraeus by the Spartan Teleutias in 388 BC) he describes the Athenian fishing fleet returning to Piraeus at dawn.[9]

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this 'real world' is absorbed into the intrinsic fictionality of the epistolary genre: Alciphron always makes his readers aware that the stories of his characters are literary creations (cf. Schmitz [2004: 102–103]).

5 Garland [2001: 10–28].

6 Ar. frag. 521; Eub. frag. 75.4; Sotad.Com. frag. 1.30; Antiph. frag. 204.4–7; et al. See Garland [2001: 69].

7 The drafting of fishermen into military service is well attested to in the historical sources (Lytle [2006: 28 n. 61]): see Plu. *Sol.* 9.2 (Solon takes five hundred Athenian volunteers and sails to Salamis with a number of fishing boats); *Tim.* 18.1 (Timoleon sends grain to the besieged Syracusans using small fishing boats).

8 Bekker-Nielsen [2002: 31].

9 Xen. *HG* 5.1.23.

Alciphron was aware that Piraeus embraced three natural basins, named Cantharus, Zea and Munichia. The harbour of Munichia (the smallest of the three bays) is mentioned in 1.2.3 as the place from where the young boy Hermon goes to deliver the catch of the day to his master. In 1.11.4 the young girl Glaucippe tells her mother that she will hurl herself from the rocks of Piraeus if her parents will not allow her to marry her beloved.

Piraeus is the centre of the marine space described in the fishermen's letters: it is connected on one side with the town (Athens is the natural expansion of its harbour and as such is integrated with it but at the same time opposed to it) and on the other with the sea spaces which open outside the harbour. The centrality and the attractiveness of Piraeus are stressed in 1.6: the wife of Euthybolus complains about her husband, because he has fallen in love with a charming young lady who has recently moved from Hermione to Piraeus. The writer herself, however, is not a native Athenian. She comes from the city of Steiria in Euboea, where her parents still live. Hermione is also the native city of the girl whom the writer of 1.16 desperately wants to marry.[10] We are told that she is the little daughter of foreigners who moved from the Argolid to Piraeus. The text of 1.10 also points to Euboea. The writer of this letter is ready to sail (probably from Piraeus) to Cape Caphareus on a mission to collect and bury the corpses of dead mariners washed up by the recent storm.

The Saronic Gulf is the imaginary scenario of 1.4, because the addressee (the wife of the writer), who is now attracted by the brilliant social life of Athens, is a native of the island of Aegina. The same can be said of 1.5, whose addressee has been so lucky as to catch, as he was fishing around the island of Salamis, a number of gold coins, probably relics from the famous Greek-Persian naval battle. The eastern boundary of the Saronic Gulf, Cape Sounion, is mentioned in 1.17: it is there that Encymon found the old fishing-net which he is asking for from Halictypus.

But Piraeus is also connected with destinations far beyond the sea space crossed by Athenian fishermen in their daily rounds.[11] The island of Lesbos is mentioned in two contexts: in 1.11.1 we are told that the young boy whom Glaucippe has been promised by her father is from Methymna (and the name of Lesbian Sappho occurs at the end of the letter, as a sort of *Ringkomposition*).[12] In 1.20.1 Eusagenus, who is narrating the sad conclusion to a fishing story, mentions that the lookout man (σκοπιωρός) of his tunny-fishing boat is a Lesbian.[13]

10 On Hermione and its commercial relationship with Athens, see Andreassi [2013: 16].
11 Lytle [2012: 42].
12 Vox [2013: 222–223].
13 Lytle [2006: 40].

In 1.2.4 we encounter a group of Rhodian fishermen who are at work in the area of Piraeus (the young boy Hermon decides to join them, deserting his old friends).[14] In 1.8.2 the situation is similar: a fisherman writes to his wife, telling her that it is impossible for him to feed his family with his job, wondering if it would not be better for him to change jobs and join a crew of Lycian pirates who have come with their boat to Piraeus (the text says that the boat is 'visible' to the addressee)[15] and are ready to take him on as a partner.

We can conclude that Alciphron's sea is a marine space with well-defined boundaries and dimensions. Alciphron takes care to present it as a coherent and realistic environment, so that the stories of the characters become more vivid and credible.[16] But how does the sea become active in a narrative sense? How does the sea enter dialogue (as it were) with other spaces or elements, in order to produce narrativity or to make narrativity possible? It seems to me that four polarities can be traced: four main oppositions in which the sea is the counterpart of another idea. The first is sea vs. land; the second sea vs. city; the third sea vs. virtue; the fourth sea vs. love. In each case the relationship can be proposed as inclusive or exclusive: there can be integration or otherness.

2 Sea and Land

This is particularly evident for the polarity sea vs. land,[17] which can be developed in two different ways. A traditional *topos* of the Greek literature associates sea with danger and land with safety. The opinion of the farmer Hesiod—who claims he has only boarded a ship once in his life and looks at sea travel as the worst of evils[18]—is shared by a string of poets and intellectuals of later ages.[19] A similar view opens 1.3; writing to his wife, Glaucus says:

14 Lytle [2006: 27–28]. The fact that foreigners were allowed to fish in Attic waters is well attested to; see Lytle [2012: 19]: "Yet we have no [...] civic decrees granting fishing rights to foreigners or special privileges to citizens, no attested disputes over fishing rights between *poleis* sharing rich coastal waters in the Saronic and Argolic Gulfs or the straits of Euboea, no civic officials entrusted with policing territorial waters and regulating marine fisheries. This silence is easily explained by the simple hypothesis that Ancient Greek marine fisheries were generally open access."

15 Alciphr. 1.8.2: ὁ λέμβος οὗν οὗτος ὃν ὁρᾷς.

16 Alciphron's realism (particularly in the letters of the fishermen) is stressed by Lytle [2006: 34 n. 71] and Lytle [2012: 40 n. 101].

17 It is labelled as *syncrisis* by Vox [2013: 238].

18 Hes. *Op*. 650–660.

19 Cf. e.g. Sol. frag. 13.43–48; Diog. Laert. 1.77, 104.

> Χρηστὸν ἡ γῆ καὶ ἡ βῶλος ἀκίνδυνον, χαλεπὸν ἡ θάλαττα καὶ ἡ ναυτιλία ῥιψοκίνδυνον
>
> The earth is kindly and there's no danger in its soil; the sea is cruel and sailing is hazardous.

The sentence, with its double chiasmus and its internal assonances (χρηστὸν/χαλεπὸν, ἀκίνδυνον/ῥιψοκίνδυνον), sounds like an oracle. Its truth is reinforced by the quotation of a line of Aratus, which Glaucus says he heard once when he went to Athens to sell his fish. The situation is very clear: the contact with the city and with its traditional wisdom is an eye-opener for the poor fisherman, who understands that he made the wrong career choice and decides to become a farmer. 'To hell with this sea-bound life!', he might have said, in the words of Archilochus (frag. 116 W). The sea is also dangerous for Thynnaeus, the writer of 1.14: he is terrified by the prospect of being recruited as a rower on a warship and, to avoid this disastrous fate, decides to run away.

The relationship between sea and land is reversed in 1.4: here the writer (named Kymothoos) complains about the strange behaviour of his wife who is fond of social life and does not miss any opportunity to run to the city to take part in the most important festivities together with the ladies of the Athenian upper class. This is foolish, he says, because for people living close to the water the land is a mortal trap, just as it is for fish who cannot survive once they have been dragged onto shore in the fishermen's nets.[20] In this case, land means death and sea means life.

Needless to say, this last example shows that these oppositions are not rigidly separated; on the contrary, they can be interconnected. In Kymothoos' view the dangerous contact with land takes the form of daily frequentation of the city; Athens, with its ambiguous attractions, is perceived as hostile to the marine dimension of the fishermen.[21] This means that the pairs sea vs. land and sea vs. city overlap. On the other hand, this is a general tendency of Alciphron's writing: his world is made up of categories which are constantly interacting.[22]

20 The 'realistic' nature of this letter is stressed by Lesky [1947: 274–275].

21 Lytle [2012: 39].

22 Rosenmeyer [2001a: 285–290]; see Schmitz [2004: 88]: "Alciphron thought at least of the letters of fishermen, farmers, and parasites as forming a coherent, interconnected work."

3 Sea and City

Let us now turn to the polarity sea vs. city.[23] Ep. 1.9 is another example of the crossing of boundaries: writer and addressee do not belong to the same environment. Nevertheless they can easily engage in dialogue. The writer, who is a fisherman, asks the parasite Struthion to introduce him to some rich Athenian. This contact would be of great value for him, because it would enable him to sell his fish directly to the consumer and thus fetch a better price. The writer looks at the city as a possible expansion of his own space: Athens, with its commercial opportunities, is a potential resource which fishermen should take into very serious consideration. The relationship with the city which emerges from 1.15 is another case in point. Here too the writer thinks of Athens as the habitat of people who are surely worlds apart from the inhabitants of the Attic shore but, precisely because of their extravagance, can be of some help. The story told by Nausibius has clear points of similarity to an episode narrated in Longus' Book 2:[24] some Athenian youths hire the poor fisherman's boat and spend the day on board, in the company of ravishing singing girls. Nausibius is astonished by the luxurious life-style of his passengers. His comments centre on the sophisticated habits of these city-dwellers, which stand in no comparison with the simplicity of the people belonging to his own social class. At the end of the day, however, he is happy to take their money and hopes that another such opportunity may come along and ensure him of a similar streak of fortune.

The reverse is the case with 1.13. Here too the writer, Evagrus, has been looking to the city as a possible solution to his problems. Encouraged by a period of bountiful catches, he plans to buy a new and more efficient fishing-net. In order to get money for this investment he contacts Chremes, a well-known money-lender who has his office in the city. But very soon it becomes clear that Chremes' purpose is to lay his hands on Evagrus' boat, against which the fisherman had borrowed the money he needed. To avoid this (the loss of the boat would be of course disastrous), Evagrus is forced to sell his wife's gold chain enabling him to pay the debt and stop the legal action against him. At the end of the letter he says that this bad experience has taught him to stay away from the city and its businessmen.

23 Costa [2001: 129–130]; Lytle [2006: 35].

24 Longus 2.12; see Anderson [1977: 2198 and 1989: 115].

4 Sea and Virtue

A principle which is very often repeated in Greek literature and which belongs to the Greek popular morality is that hard work is a school of virtue whereas idleness produces all evil.[25] This certainly applies to Menander's farmers,[26] but it also applies to Alciphron's fishermen. A good example is 1.8. The writer reminds his wife how difficult their life is since the sea cannot provide for their survival (τρέφει γὰρ οὐδὲν ἡ θάλαττα). The prospect of a continued life of poverty is intolerable to him (μένειν … πενίᾳ συζῶντα χαλεπὸν καὶ οὐ φορητόν). The more attractive option would be to accept the proposal of some Lycian pirates, who have come to Piraeus with their ship: they are ready to recruit him and to make him rich with the booty of their enterprises.[27] But there is a problem: becoming a pirate and living a violent life would mean violating the rules he has kept to until now. It would mean staining his hands with blood, which the sea had kept clean. The message is clear: the sea is the domain of virtue; the water of the sea is a cathartic liquid.[28]

The idea expressed by Naubates in 1.5 runs along the same lines. Commenting on the lucky catch of Rhothius, who while fishing in the sea around Salamis has netted some gold coins, he says that it is better for a fisherman to content himself with the modest income of his daily work. Naubates is probably trying to hide his envy, his moralism is unwittingly auto-ironic. The last sentence, however, (ἀλλ' εἰ πλουτεῖς, σὺν ⟨τῷ⟩ δικαίῳ πλούτει· γινέσθω δέ σοι ὁ πλοῦτος μὴ κακίας, ἀλλὰ καλοκαγαθίας ὑπηρέτης "If you are rich, use your wealth with justice; let your wealth be at the service of virtue, and not of vice") clearly connects prosperity with vice and poverty (the constant companion of fishermen) with virtue.[29]

25 Cf. Ar. *Plut.* 510–516; Theoc. 21.1; etc.

26 Men. *Dys.* 754–755.

27 Ancient Greek literature perceives fishermen's proximity to piracy as something obvious (cf. Lytle [2006: 31 n. 68 and 2012: 45–46]). Aristotle theorizes it in *Pol.* 1.1256ab. A very significant episode is Ach. Tat. 1.17, where a pirate, Zeno, rounds up some fishermen from the coastal village of Sarapta to attack the crowd that has gathered for a festival and kidnap a girl.

28 In other contexts the sea can also be seen as a potential source of moral corruption, because the harbour is inhabited by people coming from everywhere, whose debauchery can contaminate the virtue of the citizens (Pl. *Leg.* 704d–705a is very clear): cf. Lytle [2012: 44–45].

29 The rhetoric of 'justice' is discussed by Ureña Bracero [2013: 186]; see also Lytle [2012: 45]: "To a certain degree, fishermen are insulated from these narratives, chiefly because of their poverty, which is ennobled in part because it exists against the backdrop of the corrupting

1.10 also has a virtuous fisherman as its protagonist. Callimachus' epigram 58 Pfeiffer is the grave epitaph for an unnamed shipwrecked sailor: his body has been washed up by the waves and buried by the pious Leontichus, who felt the need to show his solidarity with the dead, himself a sea-wanderer (the verb used by the poet is θαλασσοπορεῖ). Leophantus, the protagonist of Posidippus' epigram 94 AB, not a sea-wanderer, but a traveller in a foreign land, also mourns and buries another shipwrecked mariner.[30] Cephalus, the writer of Alciphron's ep. 1.10, is clearly modelled on this literary tradition. He is waiting for the end of a terrible storm which has been devastating the sea, ready to sail to Cape Caphareus, where he will surely find the lifeless bodies of sailors cast up from a wrecked ship. He will prepare their bodies and bury them, because there is no doubt—he says—that good deeds are rewarded, particularly when it concerns people from the same walks of life. This letter is a good example of Alciphron's unfaithful fidelity to the tradition. If the Hellenistic epigram is familiar with the character of the good mariner who does not hesitate to give burial to an unnamed corpse lying on the shore,[31] Alciphron's Cephalus goes a step further: he deliberately searches for dead corpses to bury.

But the polarity sea vs. virtue can also be reversed. This is the case with 1.17–19 (a sequence of message, answer and rejoinder), where a fisherman asks a colleague a favour. The fisherman wants to take possession of an old fishing-net, which is the property of his colleague, but has for many years been lying on the beach, badly damaged. The addressee refuses the request with offensive words, prompting the cut-and-dried reaction of the first writer. A clear example of a lack of solidarity.[32]

5 Sea and Love

The connection between sea and love is a *topos* in Greek poetry.[33] A very long poetic tradition shows that love can be perceived and paraphrased as navigation and the lover as a mariner. Love is a sea, because its waves and storms are

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sea and the more profitable opportunities that it offered. Fishermen are virtuously poor, and admirably skilled, in part because they choose, for example, not to be pirates."

30 Di Nino [2010: 156–158].

31 See Di Nino [2010: 156]: "Il corpo senza vita dei naufraghi viene in genere sepolto da altri naviganti, soprattutto pescatori, ispirati da letterale 'simpatia' nei confronti di quel cadavere, in cui colgono una sinistra anticipazione del proprio destino."

32 König [2007: 271]; Vox [2013: 224–225].

33 A complete discussion can be found in Ieranò [2003] and Drago [2010].

comparable to the troubles of lovers and shipwrecks resemble the sad conclusions to love stories. The core idea derives from Aphrodite, who was born from the waves and is at the same time the goddess of love and the goddess able to grant smooth and safe sailing.[34]

The sea of love is indeed a 'capacious' amatory trope, with a variety of possible applications. We can identify two main situations, however. The sea (and navigation) can be a metaphor for love; or the sea can be the geographical setting in which love develops. In the first case the figure of the sea of love produces a potentially endless sequence of images: for example the paradoxical *topos* of love-sickness as a shipwreck, not at sea but on land, or the image of the unfaithful beloved as a ship which does not obey its helmsman.[35] In the second case the physical connection of sea and love is the starting point for the creation of love stories, which gain interest precisely because of the interaction between these two highly incongruous elements.[36]

This is exactly the choice made by Alciphron. His first book can be described as a sort of anthropology of love among fishermen. The scenario of many letters is in fact a love affair involving a fisherman or someone in his family. As for the other three polarities, in this case too the juxtaposition can work in both directions: the sea can be perceived as a natural environment for love or, on the contrary, as an obstacle which should discourage any erotic temptation.

The second option corresponds—to some extent—to the traditional figure of the 'cruel sea' separating lovers. The archetype is the fifth book of the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus spends his days lying on the shore of Ogygia staring out across the endless expanse of water which he is unable to cross. His only desire is to reach Ithaca and rejoin his wife. In Alciphron the anti-erotic nature of the sea is—at least in some letters—even more substantial: living conditions for fishermen, which force them to work very hard every day to earn enough to survive, without any room for amusement, are incompatible with erotic fantasies. Thus, in 1.6 the wife of a fisherman tells her husband that he must renounce his crazy passion for a young girl, recently moved to Piraeus and the ruin of her lovers. In 1.12 Charope, answering the letter of her daughter Glaucippe, warns her that her father will feed her to the sharks if she does not give up her foolish love for a rich Athenian boy to accept the young sailor from Methymna whom her father has chosen as husband for her.

Particularly interesting is ep. 1.21. The writer, Euplous, reproaches his friend Thalasseros for falling in love with a harp player and wasting all his money on

34 Ieranò [2003: 204].
35 Murgatroyd [1995: 11].
36 The 'aquatic myth' of Hero and Leander is a textbook example: see Drago [2010: 121–126].

her. Euplous asks him to stop doing this, because otherwise the land instead of the sea will shipwreck him. We have seen that the shipwreck on land is a standard motif in Greek erotic poetry.[37] In this case, however, the lover is a real mariner, not a metaphorical one, so his shipwreck on land is something particularly strange and unusual. If there is anyone who is not expected to be shipwrecked on land, then surely a fisherman.

In other letters the way that the relationship between sea and love is presented is totally different, because here the marine environment is perceived as a territory perfectly compatible with love. This means that the figure of the sea of love is given a new meaning: in these texts the contiguity between the nautical dimension and erotic experience is not meant in purely metaphorical terms but it is something which has to do with real life. Alciphron's literary game is clever: Greek poetry is familiar with the presentation of lovers as mariners; but now we are told that mariners are, by nature, lovers.

A possible model for this is offered by Greek novels. We know that in Greek novels the sea is usually an antagonist of the lovers. But in Achilles Tatius' novel there are passages which offer a different perspective. Already at the end of Book 2, a marine setting is selected as the theatre of a conversation about love. Leucippe and Cleitophon are sailing from Beirut to Alexandria. During the voyage, Cleitophon and his friend Cleinias get into a conversation with another passenger, the Egyptian Menelaos. Their conversation develops into a real debate on the two forms of eros, namely homosexual and heterosexual love.[38] Even more surprising is a passage from Book 5, where a love scene takes place on board. As they are sailing from Alexandria to Ephesus, Melite asks Cleitophon to yield to her desire and make love to her. Cleitophon refuses, on the grounds that sea and love are incompatible. Melite, however, insists, by arguing that, on the contrary, a ship is the ideal setting for love. Her arguments are both mythological (Aphrodite was born from the sea) and psychological (the ship hints at sexual intercourse, because every part of it is an erotic symbol).[39]

No less passionate than Melite, the young Glaucippe of 1.11 confesses her love for a boy from the city, who seems to her much more attractive than her

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37 Zanetto [2003: 842]; cf. Ieranò [2003: 227]: "Il naufragio in terraferma è quasi una sottocategoria del *topos* del mare d'amore".

38 Ach. Tat. 2.35–38.

39 Ach. Tat. 5.15–16. It is noteworthy that also in Chariton's novel the sea is sometimes perceived as the way which leads to the beloved: cf. Chaereas' address to the sea in 3.5.9 and Callirhoe's complaint in 5.1.6, when she is about to cross the Euphrates and lose sight of the sea (the same sea that could bring her back to Syracuse).

fiancé. She apparently rejects the world of her parents, but her description of the beloved betrays her status, because she can only use marine terminology. We are told that "his hair is curlier than seaweed, his smile more radiant than a calm sea, and the sparkle of his eyes is like the dark blue of the ocean" (βοστρύχους ἔχει βρύων οὐλοτέρους, καὶ μειδιᾷ τῆς θαλάττης γαληνιώσης χαριέστερον, καὶ τὰς βολὰς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐστι κυαναυγής). Glaucippe's love points to the city but has its roots in the cultural setting of the harbour.[40]

'Fishermen do it better' could be the motto of the young writer of 1.16. He has fallen in love with a pretty girl from Hermione and is unable to control his emotions. He is perfectly aware that such a passionate love seems to be incompatible with his low social status: how could it happen—he wonders—that Eros hit him, a humble fisherman, as if he were one of the rich boys from the city? But he bravely rejects these negative thoughts: he is ready, he says, to go to the girl's father to ask him for his daughter's hand in marriage, convinced that the answer will be positive. After all, a young and brilliant fisherman is the most suitable bridegroom.[41] In other words: a fisherman should not surrender to love, but if this happens he will succeed: a very tricky application of the *topos*.

Ep. 1.22 is the answer of Thalasseros to the letter of Euplous.[42] Reversing the arguments of his friend, he says that people who live close to the sea are by nature open to love because Eros is the son of Aphrodite, and Aphrodite is the goddess of the sea. Thus, at the end of the book we find a higly traditional statement, a frequently repeated *topos* of Greek love poetry. Alciphron, however, connects it not to the metaphorical navigation of the lovers but to the real condition of the mariners. Another example of unfaithful fidelity to tradition, which is the key point of Alciphron's writing.

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40 Conca [1974: 420]; Rosenmeyer [2001a: 261]; cf. Schmitz [2004: 100]: "Alciphron's fishermen will forever be a 'Skipper' or 'Surfman', nothing else; and as such, their language, their entire being will be wrapped up in their profession". Hodkinson [2014: 470] notes that Glaucippe's description "is a rare example of the female (non-courtesan) subject expressing elegiacally her love, thus taking on momentarily the traditional active role of *erastes* rather than the passive role normally assigned to women".

41 Rosenmeyer [2001a: 291]: "His rusticity reveals itself in that he cannot even imagine a category other than marriage for his idealized beloved".

42 This pair of letters is discussed by Rosenmeyer [2001a: 292–293], Zanetto [2003: 841] and Vox [2013: 225–229].

6 Conclusion

In conclusion, Alciphron carefully recreates a plausible historical and geographical setting for his fishermen. The places he refers to can be traced to classical Athens as we know it, both from historical and literary sources. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the fishermen's letters provide a reliable map of 5th and 4th century Attic marine territory and sea routes. Moreover, Alciphron faithfully reproduces a typical feature of the Athenian mind, namely the perception of the sea as an expansion of the urban space; in fact, imperial Athens was conceptualised as an island, at the centre of a marine domain accessible to its military and commercial fleet. This idea of proximity or even contiguity between land and sea is clearly shared by the protagonists of the *Letters*.

At the same time, Alciphron is perfectly aware of the paramount importance of the sea in Greek literary tradition. As early as Homer, the sea plays a crucial role in shaping events. However, it is in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods that the sea becomes an undisputed protagonist. The Hellenistic epigram (for example Leonidas) accords great importance to figures of fishermen and sailors whose lives and thoughts—even within the genre's spatial constraints—inspire the poetic text. The subgenre of ναυαγικά (which is well defined as early as Posidippus) is particularly interesting. Death at sea is here perceived as something horrible, abnormal or painful, in line with the 'otherness' of the sea itself. Hellenistic poets, too, devote their attention to fishing activities and to the lives of fishermen. In the Greek novel, the sea is ubiquitous and has two main functions: it allows the characters to move from one setting to another (as the plot requires) and, with its pirates and storms, is responsible for the dramatic separation of the protagonists. The rhetoric that surrounds the sea, which can be seen as a cruel enemy to lovers but also as a 'love nest' for their meetings, reaches its highest peak in Achilles Tatius' novel.

Alciphron's letters of fishermen constitute an important chapter in this long tradition. These fishermen, and the events in which they are involved, are clearly inspired by literary models. On the other hand, Alciphron's letters are by no means the result of a mechanical combination of pre-existing materials. Alciphron clearly aims at originality: he wants to create his own sea through the skilful appropriation of the literary tradition. Personal experience, too, may have had a significant role in Alciphron's clever reworking of traditional sea stories.

CHAPTER 8

Nostalgic Authority: Alciphron's Use of Visual Culture

Melissa Funke

It is well-established that Alciphron carefully crafts literary nostalgia for Classical and Hellenistic Athens through intertext. His intricate interaction with the plays of Menander frames all four sets of letters,[1] and they contain resonances of Old Comedy and pastoral poetry among other genres.[2] The Attica of the *Letters* is thus familiar but uncanny, a faithful re-creation of fourth-century Athens that is carefully marked as fictional by its literary characters and plots. It is fleshed out with references to real-life topography, local festivals, and even coins lost during the Battle of Salamis, what Schmitz calls "material classicism".[3] Little attention, however, has yet been paid to how Alciphron employs references to famous sculptures from the 4th and 3rd centuries BC as a kind of visual intertext.[4] On several occasions, with the most striking examples coming in his fourth book, Alciphron presents his readers with tableaux that animate the visual vocabulary of Hellenistic culture that had become prevalent among educated Romans during the Imperial period. The subjects of Book 1 recall the ubiquitous domestic decorative statues of fishermen based on Hellenistic models, while letters 4.1 and 4.14 depict living versions of the Aphrodite of Knidos and the Aphrodite Kallipygos respectively. In encouraging his readers to augment the intellectual task of deciphering literary references by envisioning these famous objects, Alciphron creates a sense of what I shall refer to here

1 Durham [1913] outlines the many correspondences between Menander's and Alciphron's vocabulary. Treu [1973] and Funke [2016] identify Alciphron's use of themes and characters from Menander's plays, while Rosenmeyer [2001a] sees the *Letters* as a re-creation of Menander's version of Athens.

2 Hodkinson [2012] traces the presence of pastoral influence in this collection, while Anderson [1997: 2191] considers the *Letters* as a "Menander's-eye view" on other Classical authors, including Aristophanes.

3 Schmitz [2004: 92].

4 Rosenmeyer [2001b] discusses the inversion of the Pygmalion myth in letter 4.1, but her concern is how the fictionalized Phryne relates to her lover, the sculptor Praxiteles, rather than how actual statues are incorporated into Alciphron's narrative.

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as 'embodied nostalgia' and builds on earlier literary tradition of giving life and voice to sculptures.

Nostalgia is often typified by a longing for some imagined past, and is therefore an impossible quest for what must always be absent. As such, nostalgia is by its very nature illusory and transitory. In the case of the nostalgia that characterises much of the Greek prose from the Imperial period, the desire is not for the actual historical Athens of the 5th and 4th centuries, but for the literary/scholarly version found in the works of Classical and Hellenistic authors.[5] This version of nostalgia is not centered on a wish to restore the past, but rather marked by the self-awareness of the impossibility of such a task. Mimesis takes priority over re-creation so that authors such as Alciphron use the appearance of authenticity and its attendant authority claim to cultural capital in service of their literary artistry.

I shall argue here that the moments in which text and image merge in the *Letters* create a mimesis of nostalgia while simultaneously undermining it; the momentary passing of an image replicates the transitory experience of nostalgia but does not linger long enough for its accuracy to be appraised. Alciphron accomplishes this by departing from the patterns established by other Greek authors during the Imperial period: his references to famous images are sidelong glances rather than extended ekphrases, fleeting riddles as opposed to guided tours. As soon as the reader recognises the image, Alciphron moves beyond it and so undercuts the reader's expectations. Through this process, Alciphron destabilises the typical nostalgic programme of his peers, claiming the authority of authenticity as he calls attention to the fictional status of his version of Athens.[6]

While I have just commented on the contrast between Alciphron's brief and allusive treatment of sculpture and extended ekphrasis, I would now like to address the ways in which these two phenomena are similar. Chief among these is the quality of enargeia ("vividness"), through which the reader is made to envision an object or scene. Enargeia, like nostalgia, involves a slippery objective: it aims to bring about an image that is seen metaphorically but not literally and is therefore ambiguous in its very nature.[7] When an author seeks

5 See McClure's [2003a: 27–28] remarks on nostalgia in the Second Sophistic and the "fetishization of fragments" of monuments and texts. Bowie [1970] traces the origins of the specifically Athenian orientation of this nostalgia.

6 Alciphron's artistry inhabits the division between original and copy that Aristotle writes of in his *Rhetoric*, discussing the pleasure of συλλογισμός (*Rhet.* 1370a). See especially Whitmarsh [2001: 46–57] on the role of mimesis in Greek thought and its application in literature of the Second Sophistic.

7 See Webb [2009: 11, 107].

to imbue his writing with enargeia, his goal is not authenticity, but the semblance thereof. Ekphrasis as a rhetorical device employs this 'real but not real' paradox through a process that is simultaneously active and passive, with the reader guided to 'see' what is being described. Accordingly, ekphrasis draws attention to the absence and therefore the fictional status of what it describes and so ultimately to the skill of the author. Alciphron's embodied nostalgia achieves a similar result to that of conventional ekphrasis.[8] Where the *Letters* depart from the ekphrastic model is in their economy of language. Unlike authors such as Lucian and Philostratus, who systematically deconstruct the objects they describe through a long and elaborate sequence of visualisation,[9] Alciphron uses oblique and fleeting references to well-known images to make his world instantly but only momentarily recognisable before reorienting it in a new fashion. In that instant of recognition, the reader of the *Letters* is anchored in a specific milieu while appreciating the author's distortions of it. Embodied nostalgia allows Alciphron to do the visual work of an ekphrasis without confronting the reader with a mass of text as Philostratus and Lucian do. In so doing, Alciphron aligns himself with the composers of linguistically-economical epigrams rather than his fellow prose writers.

1 Book 1, Epigrams, and Statues of Fishermen[10]

I would like to turn now to a discussion of the statues mentioned above and Alciphron's allusive treatment of them. My first example does not involve a specific statue, but rather a statue type originating in the early third century BC, the elderly fisherman, the most well-known example of which is the "Old Fisherman" (alternately known as the "Dying Seneca" or "Seneca Type"), a variation on which I have included here.[11] These smaller-than-lifesize statues, often

8 While Alciphron's entire epistolary enterprise could be considered ekphrastic, here I am using the term in the narrower sense of 'describing an object' it acquires in modern scholarship (see Webb [1999: 11–15]), rather than the broader sense it had in antiquity, with a range of potential subjects, including persons, places, times, and events (Webb [2009: 63]).

9 See especially Philostratus' *Imagines*, a set of descriptions of individual artworks, and Lucian's *Zeuxis*, a parable in which the technical skill of the painter stands for the rhetorical skill of the sophist. In it Zeuxis (a painter) complains of an audience and its response to his painting, παρευδοκιμεῖ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν ἔργων ἡ τῆς ὑποθέσεως καινοτομία ("the novelty of the subject is more important than the accuracy of the task", § 7).

10 My thanks to Michèle Biraud for drawing my attention to these statues and their place in the tradition of Greek epigram.

11 This statue is commonly considered to be third-century and along with the "Drunken Old

depicting hunched, elderly fishermen, and marked by their naturalism,[12] have been found in private homes of the Imperial period both on the Italian peninsula and throughout the eastern Mediterranean,[13] which means that they were familiar to upper-class Romans of the Imperial period, and therefore a common part of their visual vocabulary. Although in the instance of Book 1, Alciphron does not indicate an individual image, the long connection (well-established by Alciphron's time) between this particular kind of statue and the literary tradition proves instructive to understanding how he animates visual culture in service of his nostalgic agenda.

The fisherman abused by the stormy seas of fate is not only a visual topos but also a literary one. The epigram, which itself profitably negotiates the tension between word and image,[14] turns repeatedly to the humble lives of fishermen (among other individuals of low economic status).[15] Leonidas of Tarentum, working in the early third century BC, is perhaps the most notable of the epigrammatists to treat this subject; he wrote several epigrams on fishermen concentrating on their lowly status, in service of a broader artistic programme that focuses on the lives of humble people (rustics and sailors among them), much like Books 1 and 2 of the *Letters* do.[16] One such epigram corresponds neatly with the visual of the "Old Fisherman" statue:

> Θῆριν τὸν τριγέροντα, τὸν εὐάγρων ἀπὸ κύρτων
> ζῶντα, τὸν αἰθυίης πλείονα νηξάμενον,
> ἰχθυσιληϊστῆρα, σαγηνέα, χηραμοδύτην,
> οὐχὶ πολυσκάλμου πλώτορα ναυτιλίης,
> ἔμπης οὔτ᾽ Ἀρκτοῦρος ἀπώλεσεν, οὔτε καταιγὶς

Woman" statue-type is attributed to Myron of Thebes. Ridgway [1990: 336] suggests that there may be some connection with this iteration of the fisherman statue and specific Egyptian or Greek mythological figures.

12 This naturalism and the pathos it elicits are hallmarks of Hellenistic visual style.

13 See Ridgway [1990: 333–334].

14 A useful summation of the role of object/image in the genre of the literary epigram can be found in Bruss 2010, 119–123. We might also consider the ways in which epistolary fiction mimics the epigram in purporting to represent a physical object (the letter vs. epigram's inscription).

15 See Tiziana Drago's contribution to this volume on the influence of *ethopoeia* on Alciphron's depiction of the lower economic classes.

16 See Gutzwiller 1998, 89–97 on Leonidas' use of lower-class individuals as subjects of poetry and the interaction of lower classes reflected in these poems. Such topoi as the humble life and death of the fisherman taken from the work of Leonidas seem to have been subject to poetic reinvention from the first century AD on, beginning with several poems from the first-century AD *Garland* of Philip (see Ypsilanti [2006]).

FIGURE 8.1 Marble torso of an old fisherman, Roman copy of original of 220–200 BC

ἤλασε τὰς πολλὰς τῶν ἐτέων δεκάδας·
ἀλλ' ἔθαν' ἐν καλύβῃ σχοινίτιδι, λύχνος ὁποῖα,
τῷ μακρῷ σβεσθεὶς ἐν χρόνῳ αὐτόματος.
σῆμα δὲ τοῦτ' οὐ παῖδες ἐφήρμοσαν, οὐδ' ὁμόλεκτρος,
ἀλλὰ συνεργατίνης ἰχθυβόλων θίασος.

AP 7.295 = G.P. 20

Theris, the triply-old man, who made a living from lucky hauls,
who swam more than a gull,
the fish-filcher, net-sweeper, hole-creeper,
who did not sail on a many-oared vessel,
yet Arcturus did not kill him,
nor did a squall drive off his many decades;
but he died in his reed hut, like a lamp,
extinguished on his own terms after a long time.
His children did not set up this marker, nor did his wife,
But the guild of his fellow fishermen.[17]

Here Leonidas presents the reader with a speaking object (a common motif in Hellenistic epigrams, to which I shall return shortly), in this case a funerary monument, which itself illuminates the dead man's lowly lifestyle much as the pose, facial expression and attire of the statues do.[18] Thus by Alciphron's time, the humble fisherman is a well-visited literary and visual topos that combines elements of word and image whenever it is represented.[19]

Because of the long-established connection between poetry and sculpture in this case, the *Letters of Fishermen* are not unlike the many epigrams that purport to 'speak' from a well-known statue's perspective. These poems are not

17 All translations are my own.

18 The idea of 'speaking objects' originated at least as early as the Archaic period (e.g. the Cup of Nestor). Anything inscribed could be understood to be 'speaking' for itself, regardless of whether or not the inscription uses first person verbs [Cairns 2016: 320].

19 Further connections of this type between object and lifestyle that reflect the epigram's use of working men's tools (as found for instance in G.P. = A.P. 6.204, on a carpenter's tools dedicated to Athena upon his retirement) are present in *Letters of Fishermen*. Several letters mention nets (e.g. 1.4 and 13.1) while letters 17, 18, and 19 are an exchange focused exclusively on the ownership of an old, damaged net. Whether these particular poems precede the visual trend or not does not affect my interpretation of Book 1. A wall painting captioned with Leonidas 6.13 from the Casa degli Epigrammi in Pompeii demonstrates that the visual and literary aspects of this motif are fully entangled by the Imperial period (on which see Prioux 2008, Chapter 1).

intended as complete, ekphrastic descriptions of the objects, but rather act as brief "interpretative (pronouncements)".[20] In giving voice to the statue, these poems work to elide the division between real life and artifice, thereby praising the artist's mimetic ability. But in seeming to praise the artist, the poet is actually lauding himself as the one who can finally animate the object through his words.[21] A brief example, attributed to Leonidas, brings to life a statue of a heifer by the famous fifth-century sculptor Myron:

> οὐκ ἔπλασέν με Μύρων, ἐψεύσατο· βοσκομέναν δὲ
> ἐξ ἀγέλας ἐλάσας, δῆσε βάσει λιθίνῳ.
> *AP* 9.719 = G.P. 88

> Myron did not form me; he told a lie;
> driving me from my herd as I fed, he bound me to a stone base.

Like Alciphron in his engagement with sculpture, Leonidas does not require an extended description to draw upon a famous visual but rather animates it by giving it voice, thus commenting on Myron's skill.[22]

Whereas Leonidas has firmly anchored the heifer to her statue base, Alciphron's epistolary project differs from this type of epigram, however, in divorcing references to the sculptures from their original artistic milieu. Where Leonidas names Myron and thereby destabilises the illusion he fashions in the rest of the poem, Alciphron does not point directly to the source of his imagery, whether statue or poem, or most likely, both. The reader is invited to contemplate the kind of fisherman typified by the "Old Fisherman" as opposed to the statue itself. Although many of the letters in Book 1 are concerned with romantic relationships and the division between urban and rural lifestyles, the first three letters of the collection are studies of fishermen who are counterparts of both the statues and of Leonidas' Theris. Letter 1.1, from Eudius to Philoscaphus, tells of a storm and the bountiful catch following it. Letter, 1.2, from Galenaeus to Cyrton, details thankless and difficult work, while Letter 1.3, from Glaucus to Galatea, has a husband reminding his wife why they are leaving the sea behind

20 Männlein-Robert [2006: 252].

21 See Gross [1992: 141].

22 This poem is one of several by multiple authors dealing with Myron's famous statue. Squire pursues the mimetic confusion of such poems a step further by suggesting that several in fact are copies of an original epigram on the statue, creating their own "internal metaphor" of mimesis and commenting on the muddied border between reality and virtuality in such poems [2010: 609].

to become farmers. If we take these as the introductory letters of Book 1,[23] Alciphron inaugurates the visual component of his work immediately. He therefore makes use of a well-established visual tradition without drawing a straight line toward it, filling in the context for these images as he voices the models for these sculptures. The content of the images becomes more important than their medium, which had been the focus of the epigrams on sculpture.

2 Letter 4.1, Phryne, and the Aphrodite of Knidos

Letter 4.1, from the courtesan Phryne to the sculptor Praxiteles, her lover, follows more closely on the epigrammatic speaking statue model than the *Letters of Fishermen* do. Here Phryne, possibly the most eminent of the Hellenistic hetairai, can be understood as the embodiment of the famous Aphrodite of Knidos, for which she famously acted as the model.[24]

The letter itself does not mention this statue directly, but rather invites Praxiteles to make love in a sanctuary at Thespiae next to the sculptor's statue group of Aphrodite, Eros, and a portrait of Phryne:

> … μὴ δείσῃς· ἐξείργασαι γὰρ πάγκαλόν τι χρῆμα, οἷον ἤδῃ τι οὐδεὶς εἶδε πώποτε πάντων τῶν κατὰ χειρῶν πονηθέντων, τὴν σεαυτοῦ ἑταίραν ἱδρύσας ἐν τεμένει. μέσῃ γὰρ ἕστηκα [ἐπὶ] τῆς ⟨σῆς⟩ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τοῦ Ἔρωτας ἅμα τοῦ σοῦ. μὴ φθονήσῃς δέ μοι τῆς τιμῆς· οἱ γὰρ ἡμᾶς θεασάμενοι ἐπαινοῦσι Πραξιτέλη, καὶ ὅτι τῆς σῆς τέχνης γέγονα οὐκ ἀδοξοῦσί με Θεσπιεῖς μέσην κεῖσθαι θεῶν. ἓν ἔτι τῇ δωρεᾷ λείπει, ἐλθεῖν σε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ἐν τῷ τεμένει μετ' ἀλλήλων κατακλινῶμεν. οὐ μιανοῦμεν γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς οὓς αὐτοὶ πεποιήκασεν. ἔρρωσο.
>
> 4.1[25]

> … don't be afraid; for you have created an absolutely beautiful work, such a thing as no one has ever seen of all works made by hand, you who placed your own mistress in the precinct. For I stand in the middle next to your

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23 While this may or may not be the case, the presence of references to visual culture in Book 1 suggests that Book 4 is not as unique in its use of sculpture. For more on the ordering and potential re-ordering of the *Letters*, see Morrison in this volume. About the state of preservation of the original ordering of Book 1, see Biraud in this volume.

24 Athenaeus (13.591A) recounts the anecdote of Praxiteles seeing Phryne walking into the sea naked, thus inspiring him to use her as the model for the famous statue. He also claims that Phryne was the model for Apelles' "Aphrodite Anadyomene".

25 The text of Alciphron I use here is a modified version of Schepers' 1905 edition incorporating some elements of Benner—Fobes [1949].

FIGURE 8.2
Copy of Aphrodite of Knidos (originally by Praxiteles)

> Aphrodite together with your Eros. But don't begrudge me the honour, since those who look at me praise Praxiteles, and because of your skill the Thespians do not consider me unworthy of standing in the middle of gods. One thing still remains in your gift, that you come to me so that we may make love to each other in the precinct. We will not sully the gods whom we ourselves have made. Farewell.

Patricia Rosenmeyer has worked at length on this letter and sees it as an inversion of the Pygmalion story. Here, the living woman has been petrified, but the statue can talk back to its creator.[26]

Phryne, whose voice is foregrounded here (there is no letter in response from Praxiteles), is famous in her own right; she does not need Praxiteles to create her since she has already created herself and so while she is the object of admiration, she has also placed herself "in the position of power".[27] Throughout the letter, Phryne obscures the distinction between herself and the statue at Thespiae, by switching between the first and third person. First she refers to the work itself (τι χρῆμα) before referring to it as ἡ σεαυτοῦ ἑταίρα ("your own mistress", i.e. Phryne herself). In the very next sentence, she shifts to the first person as she writes of the statue: "I stand in the middle [of the precinct]" (μέση γὰρ ἕστηκα) and continues conflating herself with the statue saying that people "look at me" (οἱ γὰρ ἡμᾶς θεασάμενοι) and that the Thespians "do not consider me unworthy of standing in the middle of gods" (οὐκ ἀδοξοῦσί με Θεσπιεῖς μέσην κεῖσθαι θεῶν). In the next sentence, she suddenly reiterates the division of herself from the statue, calling it "your gift" (ἡ δωρεά) and invites Praxiteles to come to her, the living and breathing woman.[28] To further complicate the matter, in her closing sentence Phryne aligns herself with Praxiteles as co-creator of the statue, thus creating a triangle composed of statue, model, and creator, all three of which she inhabits in this letter.

This emphasis on her relationship to Praxiteles is meant to call the reader's attention to more than just the statue group at Thespiae, the existence of which both Pausanias and Athenaeus attest to.[29] Rather, Alciphron is winking at Phryne's reputation as the model for the Aphrodite of Knidos, the first monumental female nude and far more famous than the statue group at Thespiae.[30]

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26 See Rosenmeyer [2001b].

27 Rosenmeyer [2001b: 242].

28 Cf. Rosenmeyer [2001b: 254–255], in which these blurred pronouns are symptomatic of the boundary-obliterating nature of eros.

29 Paus. 9.27.3–5 and Ath. 13.590–591.

30 The statue was purchased ca. 350 BC by the city of Knidos (Stewart [1997: 60]).

As with the statues of fishermen, by the Imperial period, this sculpture had been copied and adapted countless times; it had also become a tourist attraction at Knidos and received a great deal of attention from writers of epigrams.[31] The Knidia features in at least twelve epigrams,[32] which, like letter 4.1, work to elide the roles of creator and creation, this time with four points of reference: Phryne, Praxiteles, Aphrodite, and the statue dedicated to her. In one poem, Aphrodite comes down from Olympus to admire the statue:

ἡ Παφίη Κυθέρεια δι' οἴδματος ἐς Κνίδον ἦλθε,
βουλομένη κατιδεῖν εἰκόνα τὴν ἰδίην·
πάντη δ' ἀθρήσασα περισκέπτῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ
φθέγξατο· Ποῦ γυμνὴν εἶδέ με Πραξιτέλης;
APl 16.160

Paphian Kytherea came to Knidos through the sea,
wishing to look upon her own image;
and when she had gazed at it all round in its spot,
she cried out, "Where did Praxiteles see me naked?"

There she claims to be the model, while another poem suggests that Praxiteles did not create the statue, but that the goddess herself stands in its place:

Τίς λίθον ἐψύχωσε; τίς ἐν χθονὶ Κύπριν ἐσεῖδεν;
ἵμερον ἐν πέτρῃ τίς τόσον εἰργάσατο;
Πραξιτέλους χειρῶν ὅδε που πόνος, ἢ τάχ' Ὄλυμπος
χηρεύει, Παφίης ἐς Κνίδον ἐρχομένης.
Anth.Gr. 16.159

Who breathed life into marble? Who saw Kupris on earth?
Who worked such desire in stone?
This, I suppose, is the work of Praxiteles' hands, or maybe Olympus
is bereft, as the Paphian came to Knidos.

---

31 Most of this attention seems to have occurred well after the statue was erected at Knidos; variations on the nude Aphrodite and the epigrams on the Knidia appear primarily post-100 BC, when the people of Knidos apparently placed the statue in a new structure designed for better viewing; see Havelock [1995: 2–4]. Images of the statue appear on coins until the third century AD and the original statue survived until 476 AD (Havelock [1995: 9]).

32 Like those on Myron's cow [see Squire 2010], the poems dealing with the Knidia treat it as a poetic *topos* unto itself [Platt 2011: 188].

Phryne's letter therefore recalls and expands upon the motif of shifting identity in such epigrams. Where the Knidia is used in epigrams to suggest the epiphany of Aphrodite herself, Phryne as author and model replaces both the authors of the poems and Aphrodite. In line with the epigrammatic traditions on sculpture, she names Praxiteles, the creator of the statues. Unlike the authors of epigrams, who use the original sculptors' names to suggest virtuality rather than reality (see above on Leonidas and Myron), Alciphron uses it to complicate the historical past he reimagines.

Having Phryne slip from model to statue to creator in letter 4.1 also responds to the reputation of the Aphrodite of Knidos in antiquity as having its own agency due to a preternatural hold on those who viewed it, which famously culminated in the stain on its backside. In stories told by Lucian and Pliny, men cannot prevent themselves from being overwhelmed by lust in its presence.[33] The conclusion of Phryne's letter hints at this notoriety with the verb μιαίνειν ("to stain"),[34] while the letter as a whole articulates the seductive power of the Knidia. Through Phryne's words, Alciphron moves from Thespiae to Knidos and back as he muddies the divide between text and object(s). Phryne's words, while seeming to evoke images of Praxiteles' statues, in the end emphasise the primacy of the letter-writer, the 'actual' woman who is Alciphron's proxy.

3 Letter 4.14, a Beauty Contest, and Aphrodite of the Beautiful Behind

In contrast to the seductive rhetoric of letter 4.1, letter 4.14 is almost entirely narrative, an account 'authored' by Megara, the hetaira who recounts a ladies-only symposium attended exclusively by hetairai, complete with dining, drinking, garlands, and music. Like any good symposium, it involves competition, in this instance over who has the most beautiful breasts, hips, and bellies. Although the framing device of this letter is a visual appreciation of beauty, Alciphron's use of sculpture here is not nearly as direct as in Phryne's letter; rather he uses the competition between Myrrhina and Thryallis over who has the most beau-

33 Luc. *Imag.* 4, Ps.-Luc. *Amores* 15–16, and Plin. *NH* 36.21 relate the anecdote of a young man who contrives to have himself locked in with the statue overnight so that he can have intercourse with it, and so stains it with his semen (with the greatest detail offered in Ps.-Lucian). Ps.-Luc. *Am.* 13 tells of a man sightseeing at Knidos with friends who is so overwhelmed by the beauty of the statue's physique (namely its boyish behind) that he cannot refrain from kissing the statue.

34 Rosenmeyer [2001b: 258].

tiful behind to refashion the Aphrodite Kallipygos ("Of the Beautiful Behind") in words. This statue, like the letter that reimagines it, is straightforwardly provocative, as it invites the viewer to admire its buttocks through its remarkable pose (specifically the sharp twist of the head).[35]

The image of the statue, re-enacted in the pose of one of the competitors, passes in a flash:

> Τὸ γοῦν πλείστην ἡμῖν παρασκευάσαν τέρψιν, δεινή τις φιλονεικία κατέσχε Θρυαλλίδα καὶ Μυρρίνην ὑπὲρ τῆς πυγῆς ποτέρα κρείττω καὶ ἁπαλωτέραν ἐπιδείξει. καὶ πρώτη Μυρρίνη τὸ ζώνιον λύσασα (βόμβυξ δ' ἦν τὸ χιτώνιον) δι' αὐτοῦ τρέμουσαν οἱόν τι μελίπηκτον γάλα τὴν ὀσφῦν ἀνεσάλευσεν, ὑποβλέπουσα εἰς τοὐπίσω πρὸς τὰ κινήματα τῆς πυγῆς· ἠρέμα δ' οἷον ἐνεργοῦσά τι ἐρωτικὸν ὑπεστέναξεν, ὥστ' ἐμὲ νὴ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καταπλαγῆναι.
>
> 4.14
>
> But the greatest pleasure we had was an intense rivalry that took hold of Thryallis and Myrrhina over who could flaunt the better, softer behind. First Myrrhina undid her girdle (her frock was silk) and she began to shake her loins through it (and they trembled like fresh cheese) while she looked back at the movement of her behind. And softly, as though in the midst of lovemaking, she groaned, so that I, by Aphrodite, was shocked.

The tableau is brief and will immediately be topped by Thryallis' detailed (and victorious) description of the beauty of her own rear (in itself a kallipygian ekphrasis), but it is unmistakeably the image of the statue of Aphrodite admiring her own behind. Should this have passed by too quickly and escaped notice, Alciphron pokes the reader into recognition with Megara's oath: νὴ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ("By Aphrodite!").

Other such contests appear in Athenaeus, who tells of a pair of sisters who find husbands by means of this kind of competition, leading to the dedication of a temple to Aphrodite of the Beautiful Behind at Syracuse (12.554c–e). An epigram by Rufinus from the *Palatine Anthology* (5.35) relates a kallipygian contest between three women that parodies the Judgement of Paris. While the epigram goes into some detail of the positive attributes of each behind (not unlike Thyrallis' encomium of her own), neither this epigram nor Athenaeus' account presents the reader's gaze with a vision, however fleeting, of the actual

35 Much has been made of this pose as scholars struggled to reconcile its provocation with other more 'respectable' Greek art (Havelock [1995: 99]).

FIGURE 8.3
Copy (17th century) of the Aphrodite Kallipygos by François Barois

statue in the way that Megara's letter does. The brevity of this sight is by design; where a reader might anticipate the moment being drawn out in the manner of a conventional ekphrasis, Alciphron eludes expectation. The image passes by without description while the expected ekphrasis is manifested in Thryallis' boasts.

This scene is also notable for the absence of the artist. This may be due to the uncertain origins of the Aphrodite Kallipygos, with no documented Greek original.[36] On the other hand, without any reference to a sculptor, this allusion to famous statuary foregrounds Alciphron's artistry in setting the scene.

4 Conclusion

Why does Alciphron's visual nostalgia seem to privilege sculpture over other forms of art such as painting? Apelles the painter, for example, was active in the fourth century BC and produced iconic images such as the "Venus Anadyomene" which were well-known during the Imperial period.[37] Statues, however, occupy a unique place in ancient Greek and Roman thought as transcending their inanimate status. Statues can come to life, as we see in Hesiod's version of the story of Pandora (*Op.* 60–105) and Ovid's of Pygmalion (*Met.* 10.243–297), or they can be living figures made inanimate (as with Myron's cow in Leonidas' epigram). They can be used to replace the beloved dead as in Euripides' *Alcestis* (348–352) and *Protesilaus* (frag. 655). They can also exercise power over people through their appearance alone, causing them to fall in love as Pygmalion does with his *eburnea virgo* ("ivory girl", *Met.* 10.275), or inciting them to acts of physical lust as the Aphrodite of Knidos does in the accounts of Pliny and Pseudo-Lucian. A statue can be referred to, among others, as an εἴδωλον in Greek or a *simulacrum* in Latin, with both terms implying a visual representation of something else, i.e. a phantom or replica.[38] Statues are more mimetic

36 This pose does, however, have precedents in fourth-century BC vase painting and third-century gems (Havelock [1995: 101]). The dating of a supposed original has been controversial, with most scholars suggesting some point in the third century BC. For example, Säflund [1963] bases his argument on a bronze spatula from Locri topped by a miniature of the Kallipygos figure.

37 Pliny (*NH* 35.91) tells of Augustus bringing this celebrated painting to the Temple of Julius Caesar in Rome. As early as the 3rd century BC, epigrams were written about it (Leonidas: A.Pl. 182 = G.P. 23).

38 Εἴδωλον is the term Stesichorus uses in his *Palinode* of the copy of Helen that goes to Troy, with the implication that the real Helen exists elsewhere (in this case in Egypt) in addition to the copy.

than other types of art: they are copies that through the artistry of their creators can cause confusion in their viewers and thereby cross the line between animate and inanimate. Given these associations with statues, I argue that Alciphron is not merely an heir to the long-standing Greek and Roman tradition of remarking upon the enchanting and mimetic power of statues, but that in his reanimation of this particular kind of visual culture, he disengages these images from their original contexts to enlist them in the service of his own literary skills.

Alciphron's use of statues also allows him to weave yet another literary thread into the allusive fabric of his letters: epigrams. In the Hellenistic epigrams on statuary, the viewer and the act of observation are primary; still, very little is actually described so these poems are fundamentally interpretive. Praise of the artist's skill is ultimately praise of the poet's skill.[39] When Alciphron calls on the visual artistic tradition, he cannot help but engage with the literary genre that had traced out the relationship between image, voice, poet, and artist. Alciphron goes one step up from the poets of epigram in giving them not only voice but in fact, releasing statues from their bases.

I would like to conclude with some brief remarks on the question as to why the female body is Alciphron's chosen medium for his particular brand of envisioned and embodied nostalgia in Book 4. After all, there are several famous statues of men sculpted by Praxiteles who would fit in comfortably with the *Letters* and the version of Athens presented within them, just as the fishermen of Book 1 do. But the statues that appear in Book 4 do not represent any goddess, and the Aphrodite of Knidos is not modeled on just any woman. Phryne and her colleagues in Book 4 cannot be seen apart from their profession. They are defined by their bodies, which are, in the configuration of McClure [2003a: 5], "(things) of use". In this way, the hetairai are just like the farmers, fishermen, and parasites of the first three books, defined by their bodies and earning a living through them. Unlike their fellow letter-writers, the hetairai must disguise this fact and their status as commodities.[40] This delicate dance requires drawing only the right kind of attention to themselves and their professional abilities while deflecting excessive attention to this. Alciphron mimics this process as he brings the Aphrodite of Knidos and the Kallipygos to life, carefully eliding the distinction between woman and object, just as he has the hetairai of Book 4 obscure the line between eros and labour in their letters. That the bod-

39 Männlein-Robert [2006: 253–254].

40 The financial transactions of hetairai are commonly understood within the framework of gift exchange, whereby they obscure the economic reality of their erotic relationships. See Kurke [1999: 182–185] and Davidson [1997: 123].

ies of the women he depicts are seen to be simultaneously themselves as well as the objects they recall and that this phenomenon is emphatically temporary reproduces the illusory effects of nostalgia itself. After all, Phryne's letter ends with emphasizing the primacy of her 'actual' self over the statue and Myrrhina's rival soundly defeats her in the beauty contest.

Ultimately, the use of visual intertext, and of famous statues in particular, allows Alciphron to claim more nostalgic authority for his text than he could have done using literary references alone. The images he uses ground his text in a specific cultural milieu without becoming cumbersome recreations, as they reify Alciphron's version of fourth-century Athens and manage readers' nostalgic expectations. By addressing the paradoxical nature of mimesis Alciphron has revealed his own sophistic skill.

PART 3

Generic Tensions and Innovations

CHAPTER 9

Different Forms of Generic Tension between Epistolary Precepts and Progymnasmatic Rhetoric in the *Letters* of Alciphron

Rafael J. Gallé Cejudo

1 A Preliminary Note

This study starts from the premise that there is an almost unquestionable equivalence between the fictitious mimetic letter, a genre to which the collected letters of Alciphron belong, and the preliminary exercises devised in classical antiquity to train students of rhetoric at an advanced stage of their education in literary composition. In the case of *ethopoeia*, this relationship is of course irrefutable since the ancient treatises expressly note that the εἶδος ἐπιστολικόν belongs to this kind of exercise (γένος γυμνασίας).[1] Centuries later, Nicolaus the Sophist explained this in his progymnasmatic treatise as being due to the fact that the wording of the letter must pay attention to the ἦθος of the senders and possible recipients.[2] However, this equivalence between letter and rhetorical exercise does not come without a price from the point of view of fidelity to literary genre. Indeed, an alteration has traditionally been noted in the epistolary nature of some letters which have been forced to accommodate the compositional structure of a rhetorical exercise, for example, loss of the letter's salutation and closing or of some of the essential elements of epistolary composition dictated by the ancient precepts, such as brevity (συντομία), clarity (σαφήνεια) or grace (χάρις). Some of the clearest examples in this regard are possibly Aristaenetus's epistles 1.1 and 1.3, in which the initial salutation is all that differentiates them from a textbook ekphrasis (the description of Lais' beauty in the former, and a ἐρωτικὸς παράδεισος, a *locus amoenus*, in the latter), or the more widely known epistle 1.10, in which, although the late *manchette* of the codex *Vind. phil. Graec.* 310 reads ὡς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τὸ κατὰ Ἀκόντιον καὶ Κυδίππην ἐρωτικὸν διήγημα ("The love story of Acontius and Cydippe, told as if it were

1 Theon, *Prog.* II 115 (Spengel): ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῆς γυμνασίας πίπτει καὶ τὸ τῶν παρηγορικῶν λόγων εἶδος, καὶ τὸ τῶν προτρεπτικῶν, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐπιστολικῶν.
2 Nicol., *Prog.* III 490–491 (Spengel).

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a letter"), the only epistolary part is the *inscriptio*, or salutation, Ἐρατόκλεια Διονυσιάδι, or some of Philostratus's "letters" that are no more than a brief γνώμη or a witty χρεία, written in prose but almost epigrammatic in nature, as I shall show later.[3]

This generic duality which endows the fictitious letter with its condition of εἶδος (ἐπιστολικόν) and γένος (γυμνασίας) also leads to a logical dissociation between the primary or internal discourse, a merely epistolary communication between sender and recipient, and the secondary or external discourse between the rhetorician and the reader, which may or may not be of an epistolary nature or intent. It is here that the tension arises between the epistolary precepts and progymnasmatic rhetoric. In recent years, several studies have explored this question, reaching illuminating conclusions about the veiled but crucial role of the rhetorician in this type of letter. I am of course referring to the πεπαιδευμένος rhetorician who possesses both an undeniable skill in deploying the mechanisms of literary composition and creation and a profound knowledge of the Greek literary tradition from its earliest days, including the most diverse literary genres in prose and verse alike.[4]

This is precisely the field of study that will be examined here, focusing on the rhetorician's consciousness of genre. The letters of Alciphron can be considered paradigmatic of the abovementioned tension in the sense that despite the pressure exerted by progymnasmatic rhetoric, the author, from the privileged position of secondary or external discourse, deploys a series of compositional strategies which ensure that their epistolary nature prevails. Thus, in the same way that the preliminary rhetorical exercise can alter the generic nature of a letter, in this study I will attempt to show some of the compositional devices through which the rhetorician achieves the opposite effect, that is, the framework altering the compositional nature of the preliminary exercise to the point of endowing it with a diametrically opposed rhetorical function to that which was originally intended.

Although with a different aim in mind, I thus agree with the argument proposed by Ureña[5] that some exercises are adapted to the epistolary form and

3 In these cases too, the sole detectable epistolary hallmark is the *inscriptio* (possibly from the late tradition) which only cites the recipient. These almost epigrammatic letters are Philostr., *Ep.* 2, 6, 41–45, 49, 52, 65–70.

4 The pioneering studies by Arnott, Anderson and Zanetto have been followed up over the years by other interesting reflections. To cite just some of the most important of these, see Arnott [1973, 1982], Anderson [1989], Zanetto [1987, 1989, 2003], Harder [1993], Ureña Bracero [1993], Drago [1997, 1998, 2002, 2004, 2013], Rosenmeyer [2001a], Vicente Sánchez [2004], Malosse [2005], König [2007], Hodkinson [2007], Höschele [2012], Vox [2013] and Guido [2013].

5 Cf. Ureña Bracero [2013: 197]. These reflections essentially refer to *ethopoeia*, but also include

structure, which is precisely the opposite of Heinemann's argument in his pioneering *Dissertatio*; namely that such letters were merely rhetorical exercises.[6] I also agree with Malosse's interesting reflections when he argues that we must resist the temptation to view epistolary fiction as a particular but simple case of *ethopoeia*, and strive to make distinctions in content (more weight given to *ethos* in the letter and to *pathos* in *ethopoeia*). Malosse concludes that the letter neither encompasses the entire ethopoietic spectrum, nor can it be reduced to a kind of written *ethopoeia*, especially from the time when some fictitious letters appear that are not strictly "epistolary", while those that are include examples that contain another kind of *progymnasmata*.[7] Nevertheless, it should also be noted that he was considering the fictitious epistolary genre in its entirety and not solely mimetic letters such as those of Alciphron. Thus, to sum up the aim of this study, just as König[8] in his discerning study on epistolarity in Alciphron asked to what extent the text's epistolary form works to intensify its thematic obsessions, so our purpose here is to attempt to determine the extent to which and by what means the epistolary form in Alciphron works to retain fidelity to the literary genre in his texts.

2 The Consciousness of Epistolarity

To elucidate this question, in formal terms it is evident that the first step is to seek explicit metalinguistic signs (what Rosenmeyer[9] has termed *epistolary self-consciousness*), as well as implicit and deducible ones to confirm a consciousness of epistolarity. This entails identifying those passages in which the rhetorician indirectly, through the sender's primary discourse, or directly, from his natural position in the secondary discourse, solicits the erudite reader's

the maxim, which is ubiquitous in the ethopoietic letter and whose form is adapted to the homodiegetic narrative inherent to this exercise. Earlier, Rosenmeyer [2001a: 260] had suggested that Alciphron's decision to adapt *ethopoeia* to the epistolary form would make it possible to develop the exercise into a literary art.

6 Heinemann [1909: 17]: *Has enim epistulas nihil esse nisi exercitationes rhetoricas accuratius demonstrabimus.*

7 Cf. Malosse [2005: 75–76]. In his interesting study, Malosse concludes by questioning the assertion that epistolary fiction sprang from *ethopoeia*, while admitting exceptions such as Aristaenetus's letter 2.10 and the corresponding *ethopoeia* by the painter enamoured of Libanius, *Ethop.* 27 (also attributed to Severus, *Ethop.* 8 W.), and preferring to refer to them as "jumelles, c' est-à-dire nées de principes identiques et se développant parallèlement, mais de façon indépendante."

8 König [2007: 258].

9 Rosenmeyer [2001a: 267].

complicity and leaves unmistakable evidence of the epistolary literary form in his compositions.[10] However, I am aware that this generic reaffirmation faces two other problems: a) the thin line that separates the letter from dialogue, thus blurring the boundaries of genre; and b) the few occasions (compared with other works in the same genre) on which explicit mention is made of the limitations of epistolary communication to express the aspirations of the characters, and consequently the few references there are to the genre.

With regard to the differences between the letter and dialogue, one must ask if those signs of generic self-consciousness that form part of a clear dialogic structure should be excluded, since they are far removed from the epistolary genre. I refer to the use of certain *verba dicendi* before nouns, verbs or expressions explicitly linked to written language, to expressions that effectively negate the physical separation between sender and recipient, or to any other linguistic or extralinguistic element that is *per se* incompatible with true epistolary fiction. The answer to this question might seem obvious at first, but conflict arises when the clearest surviving definition of the letter from antiquity is "a written conversation between two absent people" (Ps.-Procl., *Peri epist. char.* p. 27 W.: ἐπιστολὴ μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ὁμιλία τις ἐγγράμματος ἀπόντος πρὸς ἀπόντα γιγνομένη).[11]

As for the *verba dicendi* and their use in letters, I should be very cautious about rejecting them when the very definition of the letter employs ἐρεῖ and when it can rarely be confirmed that they have an exclusive oral use and when several well-known passages of Greek literature use *verba dicendi* to refer to what the letters "say". Examples include the well-known passages of Thuc. 6.54: γράμμασιν λέγον τάδε (referring to an epigram) and Hdt. 1.124 (τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγε τάδε, a note inside the hare sent by Harpagus, whose contents Cyrus "heard", despite being alone: Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος, 1.125), leading to the assumption that although Cyrus was by himself, he must have read the letter out loud.

In light of the above definition, the question arises of whether the rhetorician may be considering the letter as a written text (ἐγγράμματος) or as verbal dialogue (ὁμιλία). In this regard, a particularly thorny conflict emerges in those cases where there is an epistolary correspondence, i.e. an exchange of letters (Alciphr. 1.11 and 12, 1.17, 18 and 19, 1.21 and 22, 2.6 and 7, 2.15 and 16, 4.8 and 9, 4.18

10 König [2007: 281] also refers to this when he says that the letter is often poised halfway between sincerity and artificiality, because in some way it contains the authentic voice of the author while at the same time presenting that of the consciously fabricated epistolary persona.

11 For the *sermo absentium* and the *Brief als Gespräch zwischen Getrennten*, cf. Thraede [1970: 162–164] and for the *Wortschatz brieflicher* ὁμιλία [1970: 152–153].

and 19). Not without reason, Rosenmeyer[12] has argued that Alciphron exceeds the limits of *ethopoeia* by including pairs of exchanged letters, since as soon as there is an exchange rather than two *ethopoeias* this becomes a dialogue (in the manner of those of Lucian) that takes the form of a reply by each interlocutor (or two replies, as in the exceptional case of Encymon in 1.17 and 19). The only element that maintains generic consciousness is the explicit expression of the physical distance separating the two interlocutors; that is, in accordance with the definition of the letter, ἀπόντος πρὸς ἀπόντα is retained. This is confirmed in the case of the *genethliakon* in 2.15 and 16, in the case of the *renuntiatio amoris* in 2.6 and 7, in the invitation to meet in 4.8 and 9, in the exchange between Menander and Glycera in 4.18 and 19, and also partially in 1.17, 18 and 19, since mention of the neighbour is made in the context of a proverb. However, this distance remains completely unspecified in the case of the exchange between Euplous and Thalasseros in 1.21 and 22. It is even more inexplicable from the point of view of verisimilitude to present the conversation between Charope and Glaucippe, between a mother and her unmarried daughter of marriageable age who must necessarily be living in the family home, in the form of an exchange of letters, in 1.11 and 12.[13]

The second problem alluded to above is the subtlety with which the epistolary form is referred to in these letters.[14]

a) Explicit direct references
  - Specific terminology (γράφω, ἐπιστέλλω, ἐπιστολή, γράμμα):
    - 3.39.3 ταῦτά σοι γράφω
    - 4.8.4 ἕτερος ἂν λοιδορούμενος ἔγραφε καὶ ἀπειλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ δεόμενος καὶ ἀντιβολῶν;
    - 4.11.9 ἡδὺ γὰρ ... λαλεῖν καὶ γράφειν;
    - 4.13.19 οὖν ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα ἐπιστεῖλαι

12 Rosenmeyer [2001a: 260–261] associates this practice with the development of the school exercise into a literary art, in the sense that an isolated literary expression can become a story or a dialogue. She also offers a reasoned reply to the frequently cited artificiality of the letter as against dialogue [2001a: 263].

13 One could argue that Glaucippe, the daughter, is still in Athens where she has gone to attend the celebration of the Oschophoria and where she had seen the young man who had so captivated her in a procession, but there is nothing to confirm this.

14 Note König's latest reflections [2007: 259–260], in which he emphasises the way in which the epistolary form passes unnoticed in Alciphron's work and is even treated with some contempt. He stresses that the characters rarely explicitly discuss the advantages or disadvantages of the selected means of communication, and notes that in contrast to other collections of fictitious letters, it is difficult to find a single passage in Alciphron where the epistolary form is explicitly indicated as contributing to the precarious nature of the communication between the characters or of their aspirations.

  - 4.16.1 Σὺ ταύτης τῆς παρρησίας αἴτιος, ὅς τοσοῦτος ὢν βασιλεὺς εἶτα ἐπέτρεψας καὶ ἑταίρᾳ γράφειν σοι, καὶ οὐχ ἡγησάμενος δεινὸν ἐντυγχάνειν τοῖς ἐμοῖς γράμμασιν ὅλῃ μοι ἐντυγχάνων.
  - 4.17.4 ἐπέσταλκά σοι
  - 4.18.1 ταῦτα καὶ λέγω καὶ γράφω
  - 4.18.4 ἐπιστεῖλαί σοι ἐν ἄστει μενούσῃ,
  - 4.18.7 τὰς μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ βασιλέως σοι διεπεμψάμην, ἵνα μὴ κόπτω σε δὶς καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου γράμμασιν ἐντυγχάνουσαν
- Epistolary hallmarks (closing ἔρρωσο): 4.1, 2, 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 19.[15]
- Mention of the letter itself:[16] 4.16 and 4.18.

b) Explicit indirect references (the first letter is mentioned in the reply, i.e. the exchange of letters is confirmed)
- 4.15.1 Τί πολλὰ γράφων ἀνιᾷς σαυτόν; πεντήκοντά μοι χρυσῶν δεῖ καὶ γραμμάτων οὐ δεῖ [Philumena complains that Crito has sent letters instead of gold coins].
- 4.16.2 σοὶ νῦν οὗτος ἐπέσταλκε; [in an internal monologue, Lamia is amazed that Demetrius has recently written to her]
- 4.19.1 Ἃς διεπέμψω μοι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιστολὰς εὐθὺς ἀνέγνων [Glycera mentions letter 4.18, sent by Menander].

c) Effective absence of a recipient, which confirms the separation.[17]
- Express indication of distance or expression of the desire for union 1.7, 2.28, 32, 36, 37, 3.15, 4.1, 2, 7, 9, 16, 17, 18 and 19.
- Sending a gift or people with the letter (*anathematikon*):[18] 1.7, 2.16, 20, 27, 29, 39 and 4.18.
- Reproduction of "silent replies" (given the impossibility of dialogue, the sender imagines possible replies from the recipient or directly reproduces a previous, simultaneous or future intervention on the part

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15 The marked epistolarity of 4.11 and 16 will be discussed later.

16 In 3.26, 4.10, 15, 17 and 19, mention is made of letters other than the one the sender is writing and their impact on the course of events. These would be the exceptional cases cited by König (see *supra*, n. 14).

17 This partially reflects Ureña Bracero's argument [1993: 270–271]. These would be letters in which the sender explicitly confirms being in a different place to that of the recipient, by expressly referring to this, or because the letter is accompanied by a gift (an *anathematikon*), or because the sender asks for a meeting.

18 König [2007: 263 ff.] relates this literary *topos* to an actual practice mentioned in letters on papyrus. For more on the compositional details of this genre of literary composition and application of Cairns' theories to the letters of Philostratus, see Gallé Cejudo [2001]. In the case of Alciphron, these gifts or people are: 1.7 (fish and seafood), 2.16 (a wife and children), 20 (honey), 27 (captive birds), 29 (two piglets), 39 (sheep fleeces) and 4.18 (a letter).

of the recipient and creates a ventriloquial dialogue on the basis of this supposed reply): 3.10.1, 3.18.1, 4.8.3, 4.13.17 and 4.17.6.[19]

In opposition to these explicit references and the efforts of these rhetoricians to reaffirm the epistolarity of their compositions, there are, however, several compositional elements pointing in quite another direction. These are expressions, linguistic signs and literary hallmarks that denote the oral nature of the communication process, the physical proximity between sender and recipient or even an outright negation of epistolary hallmarks. This break with the basic schema of epistolary communication, or the lack of specific elements inherent to the genre is not necessarily evidence that these compositions are not letters. In most cases, such licence may be explained within the framework of the τύπος φιλικός and by a narrative intensification of the *pathētikon* element: the sender's disquiet or desire for union creates the interlocutor's "physical" presence, as occurs, for example, in a pathetical (παθητική) double (διπλῆ) *ethopoeia* (Hermog. *Prog.* 21). Among the elements that challenge epistolary fiction are the following:[20]

a) Replacement of linguistic hallmarks inherent to written communication by a series of terms which, while indicating the existence of a communication process, nevertheless mainly include the use of *verba dicendi*, verbs that essentially express the idea of oral communication more in keeping with dialogue:

> 1.8.1 ἐξαγορεύω; 1.16.1 διηγήσομαι; 1.20.3 ἐδήλωσα; 2.9.2 εὐαγγελίζομαι; 2.25.2 λεγούσης -μου-; 2.35.3 αἰδοῦμαι εἰπεῖν; 3.10.1 ἐγὼ δῆτά σοι φράσω καὶ πρὶν ἐρέσθαι; 3.11.3 λέγω; 3.18.1 ἴσως ἐρήσῃ με; 3.23.1πρός σε ἀναθέσθαι; 4.6.5 δεδήλωκα; 4.11 λαλεῖν; 4.13.13 οἶδας ὅ τι λέγω; 4.18.1 λέγω.[21]

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19 Regarding the content of these silent replies, in 3.10.1 and 3.18.1 the sender imagines the recipient's questions; in 4.8.3 the sender imagines the recipient's pleasure and delight and invites her to recount it; in 4.13.17 the sender, a *hetaira*, imagines her female recipient's questions; and in 4.17.6 Leontion directly reproduces what Lamia, the recipient, might say: τί σὺ λέγεις Λάμια; οὐκ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα; οὐ δίκαιά φημι; καὶ μὴ δή, δέομαί σου πρὸς τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, μή σοι ταῦτα ἐπελθέτω· "ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφος, ἀλλὰ ἐπιφανής, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς φίλοις κεχρημένος".

20 References from Alciphron have been taken from Gallé Cejudo [1994–1995: 43, n. 8–10]. In addition to those cited here, there are other elements that contribute to maintaining the epistolary fiction. Vox [2013: 205] notes, for example, that an explicit explanation is given for the fact that the internal author—of low class—expresses himself in an erudite manner or with literary pretensions. For the vocabulary of the epistolary ὁμιλία, see Thraede [1970: 152–153].

21 Note the difference between these cases and that of 2.36.2: ἴθι φράσον "come and tell me", where the *vocatio* maintains the separation and the epistolary fiction. This is a confirmed example of the oral use of the *verba dicendi*.

b) Negation of the physical distance between sender and recipient, causing situational ambiguity. This includes "indications of directly addressing the recipient", the linguistic signs that characterise the genre of dialogue, which although they may also occur in other contexts, confer a degree of specificity. These consist in the use of expressions or terms (interrogative or exclamatory phrases, the use of the imperative mood, etc.) that allude to knowledge, attention or action on the part of the recipient and metaphorically indicate direct contact between the two interlocutors, which would *de facto* negate any physical distance between sender and recipient, the condition *sine qua non* of the epistolary form. This theatrical procedure in keeping with a *pathētikon* context is evident in:

> 1.8.2 ἄκουε, 1.8.2 ὁ λέμβος οὖν οὗτος ὃν ὁρᾷς, 1.10.1 ὡς ὁρᾷς, 1.16.1: λέγε πρός με, 1.21.2 εἰπέ μοι, 2.6.2 χαῖρε καὶ ἄπιθι, 2.14.2 ἄπιθι, 2.25.2 ἄκουε λεγούσης ἀναφανδόν, 3.6.1 ὡς ὁρᾷς, 3.10.1 ἐγὼ δῆτά σοι φράσω καὶ πρὶν ἐρέσθαι, 3.10.4 ὅρα δέ, ὥς ἐστι πολυτελές, 3.10.4: ὅρα, 3.18.1 Τί δακρύω, ἴσως ἐρήσῃ με, ἢ πόθεν κατέαγα τὸ κρανίον, ἢ πῶς τὸ ἀνθηρὸν τοῦτο εἰς μέρη κατερρωγὸς ἱμάτιον φορῶ;[22] 4.9.3 ἀλλὰ δακρύεις; 4.16.1 ὅταν μὲν ἔξω σε θεάσωμαι καὶ ἀκούσω,[23] 4.13.19 ἔδει ἀπολαῦσαί σε τῆς γοῦν ἀκοῆς τοῦ συμποσίου, 4.17.6 τί σὺ λέγεις Λάμια; ... μή σοι ταῦτα ἐπελθέτω, 4.19.17 δήλωσόν μοι σαφῶς.

This ambiguity is heightened when these *verba dicendi* (or any other expression in keeping with oral communication) is used in conjunction with specific forms of written communication:

> 4.11.9: ἡδὺ γὰρ ... λαλεῖν καὶ γράφειν; 4.18.1: ταῦτα καὶ λέγω καὶ γράφω.

c) A change of interlocutor. The sender ignores the recipient and addresses a different recipient. This is a stylistic element of the genre. For example, in 4.18.16 Menander, the sender of the letter, ignores Glycera, the recipient at a primary or internal level of communication, and addresses a second recipient, King Ptolemy.[24]

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22 The sender puts a series of questions into the recipient's mouth as if he were standing before him: "Why do I weep? Why do I wear this tattered cloak?"

23 Note that in his edition ad loc. [1873: xvi and 60], Hercher suppresses καὶ ἀκούσω, but paradoxically does not eliminate it from the translation (*quando foris te video et audio*).

24 This group also includes letters with an *inscriptio* or salutation addressed to a specific recipient, whereas the body of letters suggests that the message is addressed to a group or a deity, and thus the letter resembles an internal monologue or, in progymnasmatic terms, a

3 Generic Tension

Having established the conscious effort on the part of the rhetorician to keep the flame of epistolarity alive (and the cases where this is not achieved), I will attempt to show the effect this has exerted on the execution of the preliminary rhetorical exercise. As indicated earlier, preservation of epistolary consciousness is directly related to—if not the direct cause of—perversion of the nature and structure of the different *progymnasmata* which are embedded in these collected letters. That is the real generic tension between the epistle and the rhetoric exercise and it is evident in two fundamental aspects: in content and in formal structure.

With regard to alterations to content, a conscious misrepresentation occurs of the nature of the rhetorical exercise, of its constituent elements that the precepts establish as exclusive to the exercise and that differentiate it from others, which in the terminology used by Cairns are the primary and secondary elements of a given *genos* (not the *topoi* or minimum elements of the composition). However, it should be borne in mind that no exercise will appear in the letters of Alciphron with each and every one of its compositional elements, since as the precepts acknowledge on more than one occasion, it is not always possible to employ all of the elements proposed for the argumentation of an exercise, but only those that are the most appropriate to each specific situation.[25] Thus, I will now analyse progymnasmatic alterations with respect to content in two specific exercises, the encomium and, naturally, *ethopoeia*, using two examples in which they are presented with a maximum degree of argumentation: Alciphr. 4.11 for the encomium and 4.16 for the *ethopoeia*.

4 Content Tension: the Encomium in Alciphr. 4.11

As defined by Theon, the encomium (ἐγκώμιον) is "language revealing the greatness of virtuous actions and other good qualities belonging to a particular

single *ethopoeia* (ἠθοποιΐα ἁπλῆ). Ureña Bracero [1993: 269] and Rosenmenyer [2001a: 272] cite examples from Alciphr. 3.11 (Hermes), 13 (a protective spirit), 32 (blessed gods) and 37 (gods and deities of fate). The dual unity of time in 3.36 could also be included among these breaks with epistolary logic, where a stern Cleaenetus "at the present time" forms part of the Council. However, it is also said that he is dead.

25 Cf., for example, Theon, *Prog.* II 93, 105, 107 (Spengel) *et alib.*

person".[26] Treatises on progymnasmatic rhetoric agree on the organisation of the contents of this exercise and on the order of the argumentation, which is basically divided into three parts: praise of ethical or spiritual virtues, praise of physical and bodily virtues, and thirdly, praise of external virtues such as lineage, family, education, *cursus honorum*, etc.[27]

Furthermore, Theon and Nicolaus distinguish the encomium of the deceased, which they call the *epitaph*. This is an important point, because it directly affects one of the main elements of argumentation that should be highlighted in the case of Alciphr. 4.11, namely that it is beautiful actions that are praised after death (καλαὶ δέ εἰσι πράξεις καὶ αἱ μετὰ θάνατον ἐπαινούμεναι).[28]

It is when the exercise is adapted to the epistolary form, and specifically to the mimetic letter, that the latent figure of the Sophist emerges.[29] This is when the presence of the rhetorician transcends that of the sender of the letter or, in communicative terms, when tension arises between the secondary, external discourse and the primary one, the former overshadowing the latter. Literary creativity, the refined and intelligent humour of the πεπαιδευμένος rhetorician interested in exploring the rhetorical possibilities offered by the epistolary form, effectively leads to the creation of an intelligent hybrid. This has been well described by critics as adoxographic literature or the paradoxical encomium. It basically consists of a peculiar inversion of this *progymnasma* whereby instead of being transformed into invective (ψόγος), it is reformulated through praise of a subject, attitude or person that, in principle, would be unworthy of such consideration.[30] Indeed, as can be seen below, Alciphr. 4.11 represents an inversion of the traditional forms of the encomium, but this in no way means that it is an example of invective. Only Aphthonius distinguishes *encomium* and *invective* as different exercises, defining the latter as recording inherent evils to make

26 Theon, *Prog.* II 109 (Spengel). Translation by Kennedy.

27 Theon, *Prog.* II 109–110 (Spengel).

28 This avoids adulation or arousing jealousy; cf. Theon, *Prog.* II 110 (Spengel).

29 In this regard, Rosenmeyer [2001a: 266] argues that unlike Ovid, Alciphron does not require much imagination from his readers, given the ordinary nature of his characters. This is not entirely true: he does, but differently, by imagining them in incongruous situations or forcing a paradoxical ventriloquism.

30 Anderson [1989: 114] included adoxographic practice among what Reardon called complex Sophistic literary devices. For the most complete and recent study on adoxography, see Pernot [1993: 532–546]. He indicates that for some rhetoricians, invective is not the opposite of encomium (ibid. 482–483). Lucian's encomium to parasitism (*De Parasito*) is an outstanding example from among the many of this kind of practice in ancient Greek literature, no doubt due to its relationship with the work of Alciphron.

a bold attack with no other intention (i.e. with no intention of punishing),[31] whereas for the rest of the rhetoricians, censure arises from arguments contrary to the encomium.

Let us now turn to Alciphr. 4.11, where Menecleides, the sender, announces the death of Bacchis to Euthycles, using the body of the letter to write a stirring eulogy for her, a pure encomium which rigorously observes the argumentation and the three prescriptive elements of the exercise: the physical, the soul or spirit and external actions. Where then lies the paradoxical effect? Well, in the fact that he is praising a *hetaira*, and that although he extols her virtues and remarkable deeds, they nevertheless remain the virtues and feats of a courtesan.

Attention is drawn, first, to the high degree of epistolarity of this composition compared with the other letters. Of particular note is the salutation, using the customary formula ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι, reiteration of the euphemistic οἴχεται, the qualifying vocative Εὐθύκλεις φίλτατε[32] and the contrast between sweet love and bitter memory.

> Μενεκλείδης Εὐθυκλεῖ. Οἴχεται Βακχὶς ἡ καλή, Εὐθύκλεις φίλτατε, οἴχεται, πολλά τέ μοι καταλιποῦσα δάκρυα καὶ ἔρωτος ὅσον ἡδίστου τότε, τοσοῦτον πικροῦ νῦν μνήμην.
>
> 4.11.1

> Menecleides to Euthycles. My beautiful Bacchis is gone, dearest Euthycles, she is gone; and she has left for me many tears and the memory of a love as bitter now as it was surpassing sweet in days gone by.
>
> Trans. by BENNER–FOBES

However, what stands out above all from the epistolary point of view is the end of the letter: the vocative is repeated, the παραμυθητικός or consolatory (or even therapeutic) power of the *philikos* component that should govern the letter is acknowledged, the letter as a "mirror of the soul" (εἰκὼν ψυχῆς), and explicit reference is made to writing and conversation, i.e. the ὁμιλία ἐγγράμματος that defines the letter and finally the closing words:[33]

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31 Aphth., *Prog.* II 40 (Spengel).

32 Ureña Bracero [1993: 269–270] notes the use of the vocative as an element that reinforces epistolarity because it expressly indicates that this is not a soliloquy.

33 For the *Brief als Trost* (the letter as *consolatio*), cf. Thraede [1970: 88–94 and 168–170].

Ῥᾴων γέγονα πρὸς σὲ ἀποδυράμενος, Εὐθύκλεις φίλτατε· ἡδὺ γάρ μοί τι δοκεῖ περὶ ἐκείνης καὶ λαλεῖν καὶ γράφειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἢ τὸ μεμνῆσθαι καταλέλειπται. ἔρρωσο.

4.11.9

I have got some relief through pouring out my grief to you, dearest Euthycles. Even to talk and write about her seems to me a kind of pleasure; for nothing except memory is left. Farewell.

Trans. by BENNER–FOBES

With regard to the argumentation of the encomium, the sender extols the beauty, benevolent nature and social charms of Bacchis, and just as prescribed by Theon in his treatise on the encomium, wherever there is a virtue that cannot be praised the defect must be presented as being absent:[34] she was not vicious, faithless, attentive only to gain, or ever at the service of whoever had something to give. Nor did she cause mischief to those who had dealings with her; all this would be an unfair slander if it were said of her, because her nature set her apart from this widespread ill fame:

Τὸ γὰρ θρυλούμενον ὑπὸ πάντων, ὡς πονηραί, ὡς ἄπιστοι, ὡς πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελὲς βλέπουσαι μόνον, ὡς ἀεὶ τοῦ διδόντος, ὡς τίνος γὰρ οὐκ αἴτιαι κακοῦ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι, διαβολὴν ἐπέδειξεν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἄδικον· οὕτω πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν βλασφημίαν τῷ ἤθει παρετάξατο.

4.11.3

For the idle talk we hear on every side that they are wicked, faithless, with an eye for gain only, always his who is free with his money, the cause of no end of evil to those that have to do with them—Bacchis showed in her own case to be an unjust slander; so effectually did she by her character refute the scurrilous gossip of the crowd.

Trans. by BENNER–FOBES

Yet if someone said of her that she was arguably a model for the life of the *hetairae*, a paradigm of the character and behaviour of a courtesan, they would not be wrong (ἀπολογίαν ἐκείνην καλῶν οὐκ ἄν τις ἁμαρτάνοι τοῦ τῶν ἑταιρῶν βίου), and if all the *hetairae* in the world were to gather together and erect a statue to her in the temple of Aphrodite or the Graces, they would be doing what was

34 Theon, *Prog.* II 111 (Spengel).

right (καὶ εἰ συνελθοῦσαι ἅπασαι πανταχόθεν εἰκόνα τινὰ αὐτῆς ἐν Ἀφροδίτης ἢ Χαρίτων θεῖεν, δεξιὸν ἄν τί μοι ποιῆσαι δοκοῦσιν). Can there be greater paradox than this?

Alciphron's letter thus follows Theon's encomium argumentation with a recital of singular deeds, those which marked the person being praised as unique. Bacchis too is distinguished by these, but what were the unique achievements of this *hetaira*? They lay in not giving in to the wishes of a rich oriental prince and rejecting his gifts, instead preferring the company and modest presents of the sender of the letter. Not only did she reject the rich Mede, but she also spurned the attentions of a wealthy Egyptian merchant.

It is curious, and, at first sight contradictory to our argument, that the rhetorician Theon in his description of the encomium in his treatise on the *progymnasmata*, includes a courtesan as an example of characters overcoming a low social status, as well as craftsmen or downright bad luck to achieve something good, because "virtue shines brightest in misfortune" (μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν ἐκλάμπει ἡ ἀρετή).[35] However, in the case of Alciphron this would still amount to a rhetorical-literary display tinged with black humour. The *hetaira* Theon takes as his example, the famous Leontion, converted from a simple courtesan into a philosopher, whereas Alciphron's Bacchis is transformed into a good *hetaira*, or rather into the paradigm of good *hetairae*.

Lastly, in his theoretical discussion of the encomium exercise, the rhetorician Aphthonius adds that the description of deeds should be followed by "a comparison, attributing superiority to what is being celebrated by contrast", i.e. the more elevated the nature of the *illustrans* element, the more elevated that of the *illustrandum*, if this prevails in the comparison.[36] Alciphron also exalts Bacchis through comparison, but does so by contrasting her with Megara, a courtesan who is "more sluttish than a mare" (ἱππόπορνος) and who makes a habit of ruining her unfortunate lovers. But as the height of paradox, Bacchis, who is an infinitely better person than Megara, is dead whereas this slut is still living.

Thus, one might conclude that Alciphron uses the epistolary form to accommodate the encomium exercise, but the literary result is that the mimetic letter gains in tension and prevails over the nature of the rhetorical exercise, ultimately transforming it into a parody of itself.

35 Theon, *Prog.* II 111–112 (Spengel).
36 Aphth., *Prog.* II 36 (Spengel). This device has traditionally been defined as *Überbietung*.

5 Content Tension: the Ethopoeia in Alciphr. 4.16

I could speak in similar terms about some of Alciphron's other letters and the *ethopoeia* exercise. This kind of paradox is even more striking because, as indicated before, the exercise forms the creative basis of the mimetic letter and in most cases follows a standard pattern.

Theon defines *ethopoeia* (for him *prosopopoiia*—προσωποποιΐα) as "the introduction of a person to whom words are attributed that are suitable to the speaker and have an indisputable application to the subject discussed".[37] Attention should be drawn to the rhetorician's ability to achieve the coherence required by the discourse (ἀναμφισβητήτως), viewed in relation to Malosse's recent reflections[38] on the role of the author who, working at the secondary level of discourse in mimetic letters from characters whose *ethos* is well-defined, strives to remind the reader that it is the character who is behind the words spoken. According to Malosse, when the sender is famous, the author can imitate the character's style, but when the letters are from social groups, the author resorts to a kind of ethical mimesis of style (e.g. sailors' nautical metaphors). This idea exactly corresponds with what Ureña has defined as the *aretē* of such characters in their role as types. Similarly, it should also be noted that Alciphron is more comfortable with more refined characters such as Menander in 4.18 than in the skin of fishermen or peasants.[39]

This is true in most cases and it explains why it is so shocking—an authentic ἀπροσδόκητον—when a character is at odds with his or her *ethos*, i.e. when the discourse in the *ethopoeia* is not in keeping with the character voicing it. The discourse then becomes an incongruous discourse, ἀπρεπές, a paradoxical *ethopoeia*. Sometimes this paradoxical *ethopoeia* can occur explicitly. This, however, is not the case in Alciphr. 2.32, in which Gnathon is explicitly defined as a parasite (εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς παρασίτους), initially also behaving as such. This letter is however included in the book of letters from peasants, which as Vox has indicated, represents an explicit change of *ethos* confirmed by the manuscript tradition.[40] I refer rather to Alciphr. 3.26, where the parasite Scordolepisus is willing to step forward to tell his master that his wife is being unfaithful to him. This is at odds with the natural character of a parasite, as reflected in the following letter 3.27, in which Philomageirus, aware of a much more serious deception

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37 Theon, *Prog.* II 115 (Spengel). Προσωποποιΐα ἐστὶ προσώπου παρεισαγωγὴ διατιθεμένου λόγους οἰκείους ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις πράγμασιν ἀναμφισβητήτως. Translation by Kennedy.

38 Malosse [2005: 66 and 72–73].

39 Ureña Bracero [2013: 183 and 190].

40 Vox [2013: 239].

(an illegitimate child), prefers to conceal this information and use it as a means of blackmail at an opportune moment. However, what is it that inspires Scordolepisus to confess? It is his desire not to appear like a parasite, but rather as a friend of his protector: βούλομαι γὰρ ἐμαυτὸν οὐ παράσιτον ἀλλὰ φίλον ἐπιδεῖξαι (3.26.3).[41] He therefore wishes to change his *ethos*.

Nevertheless, it is more common for this subversion of the rhetorical exercise to be presented implicitly. One of the most significant examples is the character of the faithful or the good *hetaira* (*bona meretrix*). Before moving on to an analysis of this character, it is important to note that it should not be confused with another very similar one, possibly representing a rhetorical evolution of the former, namely that of the repentant or redeemed *hetaira*. This is the case, for example, with the courtesan Melissarion in Aristaen. 1.19 who abandons her trade when she falls pregnant by her lover. The redeemed *hetaira* as character soon became a paradigm in rhetorical exercises, as confirmed by Libanius's *Ethopoeia* 18 (Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους πόρνη σωφρονήσασα;) and the *Codex Escurialensis* 479 (Ψ.IV.1), ff. 380–381ᵛ, entitled Πόρνη σωφρονήσασα πρὸς τοὺς παριόντας ἐραστάς.[42] These are different characters; they have changed their lives and now have a different *ethos*. In contrast, the faithful *hetaira* remains a courtesan, but her behaviour does not correspond to her *ethos*. Herein lies the paradox of the rhetorical exercise, or where the *progymnasma* becomes subordinate to the epistolary form, which, in its purest essence should be governed by the *philophronetic* component (φιλοφρόνησις) which, according to the ancient epistolary treatises, should constitute the spirit of this type of composition and acommodate its κάλλος. Indeed, as suggested by Garzya, such philophronetic expressions are precisely the *Leitmotiv* of late antiquity epistolary praxis. It is no coincidence that in the main catalogues of epistolary types (the Τύποι ἐπιστολικοί or Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι χαρακτῆρες) transmitted from antiquity, the τύπος φιλικός occupies the first place in Pseudo-Demetrius's treatise, while in that of Pseudo-Libanius, who was perhaps more influenced by Sophist ideals, it is the seventh προσηγορία.[43]

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41 Attention is often drawn to the parasite's final reticence and Onesimus's situation with respect to his master Charisius in Menander's *Men at Arbitration* (*Epitrepontes*) (vv. 419–429), and the former's doubts about whether to show him the ring that would prove the latter's paternity of Pamphila's child.

42 I am indebted to Amato for the *editio princeps* [2009: 77–85] (*Anonymi ethopoeia meretricis redemptae*).

43 Cf. Garzya [1985: 355] and for the catalogues of epistolary types, see Artés Hernández [2005: 31, n. 55], Suárez de la Torre [1979: 33, 1987: 193, and 1988: 1144–1152]. On the φιλοφρόνησις and the recurrent passage in *De Elocutione* by Pseudo-Demetrius, see Garzya, *loc. cit.* and López Eire [1998: 331]. For the πόθος-*Motiv* in general and in its christian regard,

Such letters from faithful courtesans appear in the work of Aristaenetus, for example Pythias in 1.12 ("nobler than her profession"),[44] Mousarion in 1.24 and Chelidonion in 2.13, and, of course, in Alciphron, for example Glycera in 4.19, faithful to Menander, who explicitly admits her position as *hetaira* in 4.2.4: συγγίνωσκε δὲ ταῖς ἑταιρικαῖς, ὦ φιλτάτη, ζηλοτυπίαις. This is a clear and beautiful example of the subject of this volume: the unitary nature of the work of Alciphron. There is no other similar example where the *ethos* of a character can be so globally reconstructed and in which the entire work functions together as a syntagmatic axis. One of the most frequently used narrative techniques in the construction of a literary character is that where a character is depicted, not through what he says but through what others say about him. In the letters of Alciphron, the character of the courtesan Bacchis is drawn from yet another angle, since her *ethos* can be reconstructed not only from what she says (4.3, 4.4 and 4.5) and what is said about her (e.g. the stirring encomium in 4.11, analysed earlier), but also from what is said to her, i.e. the letters in which Bacchis is the recipient, letters 4.2 and 4.14, which contain revealing information about the character of this *hetaira*.[45]

Our analysis of paradoxical *ethopoeia* will focus on the character of Lamia in 4.16, an ethopoietic recreation of the famous courtesan who, according to tradition, ruled the passions of King Demetrius Poliorcetes.[46] As in the previous case analysed, the markedly epistolary *exordium* and end of this composition are striking:

> Λάμια Δημητρίῳ. Σὺ ταύτης τῆς παρρησίας αἴτιος, τοσοῦτος ὢν βασιλεὺς εἶτα ἐπέτρεψας καὶ ἑταίρᾳ γράφειν σοι, [καὶ] οὐχ ἡγησάμενος δεινὸν ἐντυγχάνειν τοῖς ἐμοῖς γράμμασιν ὅλῃ μοι ἐντυγχάνων. Ἐγώ, δέσποτα Δημήτριε, ὅταν μὲν ἔξω σε θεάσωμαι καὶ ἀκούσω …

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see Thraede [1970: 125–145 and 165–173]. The passage in question runs as follows: Demetr., *Eloc.* 231–232: φιλοφρόνησις γάρ τις βούλεται εἶναι ἡ ἐπιστολὴ σύντομος, καὶ περὶ ἁπλοῦ πράγματος ἔκθεσις καὶ ἐν ὀνόμασιν ἁπλοῖς. Κάλλος μέντοι αὐτῆς αἵ τε φιλικαὶ φιλοφρονήσεις καὶ πυκναὶ παροιμίαι ἐνοῦσαι ("The letter is intended as a concise example of friendly courtesy and an exposition of a simple subject in simple terms. Its beauty effectively lies in the expressions of friendly courtesy and the many proverbs it contains.").

44 Aristaen., *Ep.* 1.12. This passage owes a considerable semantic debt to Alciphr. 4.2.3 and 4.11.5.

45 The benevolent nature of the *hetaira* is confirmed in the account with Milesian nuances in the *Deipnosophistae* by Athenaeus 13.594A–C.

46 The principal depictions of this relationship can be read in Plu., *Demetr.* 24 and esp. 27; and Ath. 13.576C–577F.

> Lamia to Demetrius. I have you to thank for the freedom I have of addressing you, mighty king that you are, who nevertheless permit even a courtesan to write letters to you and who think it no harm to hold converse with my letters as you do with my entire self. For my part, Lord Demetrius, when I see and hear you abroad …
>
> Trans. by BENNER–FOBES

Several themes, formulas and topics exclusive to the epistolary genre appear in this passage: the *inscriptio* or opening formula (ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι), the theme of freedom of expression (the παρρησία), the generalisation of letter-writing, the interior monologue, the letter as a "physical" substitute for the person and the initial vocative. Meanwhile, the letter closes with a *vocatio ad cenam*[47] and the corresponding farewell formula (ἔρρωσο).

I have already noted that the definitions and descriptions of *ethopoeia* given in the preserved progymnasmatic treatises primarily focus on the appropriateness of the discourse (τὸ πρέπον) and the fittingness (ἁρμόττειν) of the *ethos* and *logos*. According to Theon, the discourse had to be "indisputably appropriate (ἀναμφισβητήτως) to the person and the circumstances in which he finds himself".[48] Thus, the discourse must have appropriate words (ἔπειτα δὲ ἤδη πειρᾶσθαι λόγους ἁρμόττοντας εἰπεῖν, II 115 Spengel) and each subject has its appropriate form of expression (καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἕκαστα ἔχει πρέπουσαν ἑρμηνείαν, II 116 Spengel). To this end, advice is given on how to endow each of the events, characters, manner, time or fortune with its fitting articulation (ἀλλὰ τὸ πρέπον ἑκάστῳ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποδιδῶμεν στοχαζόμενοι ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ἁρμόττοντος τῷ τε προσώπῳ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ καὶ ἑκάστῳ τῶν προειρημένων, II 116 Spengel). Similarly, Hermogenes prescribes that the decorum appropriate to the proposed characters and their circumstances should be maintained at all times (Πανταχοῦ δὲ σώσεις τὸ οἰκεῖον πρέπον τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις προσώποις τε καὶ καιροῖς II 15 Spengel). Thus, important events should not be described in humble terms, nor insignificant events in sublime terms; vulgar events should not be related in a high register, nor terrible events in a low register; a youth should speak with simplicity, and an old man with intelligence and experience; etc. Likewise, Nicolaus the Sophist prescribes how to depict the character of the speaker and the person spoken to correctly (ἠθοποιία ἐστὶ λόγος ἁρμόζων τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις … ἁρμόζων μὲν τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις, ἐπειδὴ δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι καὶ τοῦ λέγοντος καὶ πρὸς ὃν λέγει, III 489 Spengel).

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47 On this theme, as a lesser form of *genos kletikon*, cf. Cairns [1972: 74–75, 240, 286].

48 Cf. *supra*, n. 37.

This is an important issue, because the moment the discourse is at odds with the *ethos*, ethopoietic paradox emerges. In our case, as soon as a *hetaira* stops embodying the vices of her profession and is not depicted as vicious, unfaithful, self-seeking, ever at the service of whoever has something to offer her and causing harm to those who have dealings with her, she becomes part of a different ethopoietic prototype. This ethopoietic nature must be underlined because although one could question the prototypical character of the *hetaira* in such letters, the strict adherence to the rhetorical precepts of this progymnasmatic exercise is unquestionable.

When discussing the construction of an *ethopoeia* in his treatise, Theon stresses the importance of paying attention not only to the character who utters it, but also to the character to which it is addressed.[49] Adhering to this instruction, Alciphron uses Lamia's words to portray Demetrius, another character whose treatment one could argue corroborates the global and unitary nature of the letters of Alciphron, since his persona can be reconstructed not only in this letter, but also in others, for example the *synkrisis* established between Demetrius and the old philosopher Epicurus (given the perceptive epithet ἐπιπολιορκητής) and the lover detested by Leontion in 4.17.

Alciphron constructs Lamia's epistolary discourse in a conscious and studied manner. The *captatio benevolentiae* that began with the aforementioned submissive preamble continues with humble fear inspired by the military exploits of Demetrius, the πολιορκητής king, and at the same time incredulity at having gained his favour. This passage reveals the author's hand in the secondary discourse; Alciphron is appealing to the knowledge of the πεπαιδευμένος reader, because although it is not mentioned in the letter, the fact that Lamia was a very old *hetaira*, "well past her prime" in the words of Plutarch,[50] formed part of the cultural tradition of the time. Seen in this light, it was surprising that the king should have preferred her over other, younger women. Following this initial moment of fragility, the *hetaira* becomes sure of herself, fully aware of her influence and power over the king and capable of forcing the besieger of cities (πολιορκητής) to surrender like a city (ἐκπολιορκήσω). Alciphron might well be appealing here to the literary complicity of the educated reader, as it was common knowledge that this *hetaira* had been parodied in comedy with the epithet Ἑλέπολις, like the breaching towers that the king himself employed in sieges.[51]

49 Theon, *Prog.* II 115 (Spengel).

50 Cf. Plu., *Demetr.* 27.8: ἦν δὲ θαυμαστόν, ὅτι τῆς Φίλας ἐν ἀρχῇ τὸ μὴ καθ' ἡλικίαν δυσχεραίνων, ἡττητο τῆς Λαμίας καὶ τοσοῦτον ἤρα χρόνον ἤδη παρηκμακυίας. This is followed by anecdotes told by the courtesan Mania in which she mocks at Lamia's age.

51 Plu., *Demetr.* 27.4.

In their respective treatises, both Hermogenes and Aphthonius prescribed that instead of dividing an *ethopoeia* according to principles of argumentation, it should be divided into three time periods: past, present and future.[52] To comply with this precept, Alciphron uses the commonplace of the *vocatio ad cenam* as the unifying theme. Lamia will prepare a spectacular feast, as she does every year, but aims to surpass herself once again provided that—and here the self-seeking *hetaira* resurfaces—he supplies the financial means (ὑποδέξομαι δή σε ἐπαφροδίτως καὶ ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα ἐπιφανῶς, ἄν μοι περιουσιάσαι γένηται ὑπὸ σοῦ). Alciphron again deploys the legend surrounding this *hetaira*, famous for her sumptuous banquets, which, however, earned her the hatred of her fellow citizens since these feasts were paid for by exceptional taxes levied by the king. Perhaps Alciphron is alluding to the famous banquet which according to Plutarch yielded the plot for a work by Lynceus of Samos.[53]

Up till here, the *ethopoeia* followed canonical patterns. However, from 4.16.4 onwards, there is a dramatic change in the *ethos* of the character. The considerable weight of the philophronetic element in epistolary composition is imposed on the ethopoietic pattern, and an amiable and therefore paradoxical version of the courtesan emerges. The key is the claim that since "that sacred night" (enigmatic expression!), she has not committed any act unworthy of Demetrius's kindness, and although he has given her complete freedom to practice her profession, she has not been unfaithful to him:

> Μηδὲν ἀνάξιον τῶν σῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς ἱερᾶς νυκτὸς ἔτι πεποιηκυίᾳ, καίτοι σοῦ γε ἐπιτρέποντος ὅπως ἂν βούλωμαι χρῆσθαι τῷ ἐμῷ σώματι· ἀλλὰ κέχρημαι καλῶς καὶ ἀμίκτως πρὸς ἑτέρους.
>
> 4.16.4

> From that sacred night up to his present hour, I have done nothing to make me unworthy of your favour, though you say that I may dispose of my person in any way I please; no, I have disposed of it honourably and have had nothing to do with other men.
>
> Trans. by BENNER–FOBES

Following this passage, Lamia is shown as a *hetaira* who is incapable of deploying the instruments of her trade (σοφίσματα, πλάττεσθαι, τεχνιτεύειν), above all, the most important *praeceptum* in the *erōtodídaxis* of the professional mis-

52 Thus in Hermog., *Prog.* II 16 (Spengel) and in Aphth., *Prog.* II 45 (Spengel).
53 Plu., *Demetr.* 27.3.

tress: to concede very slowly to the lover, endlessly postponing the moment of pleasure in order to maintain his hopes alive. This she cannot do, and fears that her beloved will thus become sated. She cannot lie to her lord, she cannot pretend, because she is not made of stone (οὐχ οὕτως εἰμὶ λιθίνη) and would give up her life for him.[54] In short, this attitude is summarised in an explicit statement in 4.16.5, when she says that "I will not behave like a courtesan" (οὐ ποιήσω τὸ ἑταιρικὸν), which constitutes the negation par excellence of her *ethos*.[55]

The letter concludes with a return to the *vocatio ad cenam* and the hand of Alciphron becomes visible again through a series of satirical allusions to the rigidity of the Spartans' customs.[56]

6 Formal Tension: the Epigrammatic Letter Alciphr. 4.15

The last example illustrates how epistolary pressure is not exerted on the content but on the *progymnasmatic* form, as letter 4.15 shows:

> Φιλουμένη Κρίτωνι. Τί πολλὰ γράφων ἀνιᾷς σαυτόν; πεντήκοντά σοι χρυσῶν δεῖ καὶ γραμμάτων οὐ δεῖ. εἰ μὲν οὖν φιλεῖς, δός· εἰ δὲ φιλαργυρεῖς, μὴ ἐνόχλει. ἔρρωσο.
>
> Philumena to Crito. Why do you trouble yourself with a lot of letter writing? What you need is fifty pieces of gold, and you don't need letters. So then, if you love me, hand them over; if you love money, don't bother me. Farewell.
>
> Trans. by BENNER–FOBES

From the point of view of content, there is no doubt about the *ethos* of the character. Unlike the previous example, here a greedy, money-loving *hetaira*

54 Lamia cannot deploy two of the most effective *praecepta amoris* in the courtesan's armoury: jealousy as the *pharmakon* for a disdainful lover and the feigning of indifference to arouse love; cf. Aristaen. 1.22 and 2.1 or Luc., *DMetr.* 8. In book 13, Athenaeus gives a list of heroic *hetairae* willing to die for their lovers (593B–E).

55 This somewhat contradicts Rosenmeyer's assertion [2001a: 285] that unlike the fishermen, peasants or parasites, the courtesans in Book 4 do not participate in this game of role reversal, or are untouched by incongruity in certain amorous roles [2001a: 298].

56 The expression "foxes at Ephesus" used to denote the Spartans no doubt alludes to an anecdote recounted by Aelian (*VH* 13.8–9) and may have originated from the proverb of Aristophanes, *Peace* 1189–1190.

unswervingly obeys one of the first commandments of the τέχνη ἑταιρική, which Wheeler defined more than a century ago as "*Gold, not song*".[57] However, this well-known amatory topic undergoes a deliberate distortion by the epistolary context (a meta-alteration). As is well known, this theme generally appears in the genre of literary composition related to κῶμος, in that the serenade is one of the main elements of the *paraklausithyron*, and this in turn is one of the secondary elements of κῶμος.[58] Here, however, the contextual pressure transforms the *hetaira*'s *praeceptum* into "*Gold, not letters*".

From an epistolary point of view, there is no doubt that it is a letter: it uses the opening and closing formulas and contains basic elements of the genre, its extreme brevity recalling Philostratus's letter 14.[59] At the same time, however, it also maintains ethopoietic fidelity, although the exercise is subject here to a clear condensation by *detractio*, which makes it an almost epigrammatic letter. This is precisely where I believe that the simple rhetorical exercise becomes subordinate to the epistolary genre. Thus, it is necessary to analyse this composition on the basis of two principles of literary theory. First, that of brevity (συντομία), which is one of the characteristics required of the letter according to the ancient epistolary precepts (together with *clarity*—σαφήνεια—and *grace*—χάρις),[60] here unquestionably taken to the extreme. Secondly, the close relationship established since classical antiquity between the erotic letter and the poetic genre. Proof of the ancients' perception that erotic letters possessed a poetic nature can be found in a well-known passage from the *Deipnosophistae* by Athenaeus (14.639A), which refers to a passage from Clearchus where he says that the writings of Asopodorus about love, and "the whole body of amorous

57 Wheeler [1911: 65 ff.].

58 In all cases, I employ the terminology of Cairns [1972]. This same theme is apparent in a more generalised context of κῶμος, for example in Aristaen. 1.12, 1.14, 1.17, 2.1, 2.18, although the extended version of Alciphron's letter is undoubtedly Aristaen. 1.14.

59 In agreement with Rosenmeyer [2001a: 284] and subsequently Vox [2013: 234], emphasis should be placed on the literary irony of a *hetaira* criticising the letter writer in a work whose *raison d'être* is precisely epistolary correspondence. This is undoubtedly an especially noteworthy referential generic sign. A similar note of such humour occurs in the contempt shown by Leontion in 4.17 for the letters from Epicurus, renowned in antiquity precisely for his epistolary production.

60 In his epistles 51 and 54, Gregory of Nazianzus, the first Greek author to publish a collection of his own letters, enunciates the characteristics required of a letter: brevity, clarity, grace and simplicity. For details in the various epistolographers' treatises on συντομία, see Demetr., *Eloc.* 230–231, Greg. Naz., *Ep.* 51.1–5, Jul. Vict., *Ars* 27; on σαφήνεια see Demetr., *Eloc.* 229, Ps.-Lib. 48–49, Philostr., *Dial.* 1, Greg. Naz., *Ep.* 51.4, Jul. Vict., *Ars* 27.; and on χάρις see Greg. Naz., *Ep.* 51 (through the inclusion of proverbs: Demetr., *Eloc.* 232, Jul. Vict., *Ars* 27).

epistles" are prototypes of ἐρωτικὴ ποίησις διὰ λόγου ("erotic poetry in prose") as opposed to the ἔμμετρος ποίησις ("metrical poetry") of Archilochus or Homer.

It is from this perspective that letter 4.15 by Alciphron must be analysed. However, in the absence of a metrical structure, identification of a poetic nature must rely on extension, structure, stylistic devices and above all, on a comparison with other poetic forms, as being the only evidence that will serve to define this new 'poetic prose'. This formal agreement is more noticeable in brief metric compositions, especially in the epigram.

In modern times, Heinemann was the first to make the same observation after reading Dionysius the Sophist's epigram in the *Palatine Anthology* 5.81 and comparing it with some letters by Philostratus: *Eodem stilo saepe utitur Philostratus, cuius quaedam epistulae mera sunt epigrammata soluta oratione scripta, unius argutae sententiae causa composita*.[61] He reached the same conclusion when comparing letter 2 by Philostratus with anonymous epigrams in *AP* 5.90 and 91. In this letter, Philostratus introduces a variation on the *anathematikon* (*genus dedicatorium*) in which one of the elements of this genre of literary composition is inverted: "The encomiastic description of the gift",[62] whereby both the Sophist and the anonymous epigrammatists seek a literary 'thrust' with an intentional *aprosdoketon*: the gift accompanying the letter will profit from the recipient rather than the other way around. In this passage, Heinemann directly acknowledges full identification of both genres to the point not only of speaking of "a prose epigram" or "a letter in couplets" but of defining Crinagoras's compositions as "letters": *Vides Philostrati epistolium epigramma esse soluta oratione conscriptum, epigramma brevem epistulam disticho inclusam. Talibus epistolis Crinagoram aliosque poetas dona saepe prosecutos esse supra vidimus. Non miramur rhetorem in his eodem stilo uti*.[63]

All these considerations are applicable to a good number of the letters by Philostratus (*Epp*. 2, 6, 41–45, 49, 52 and 65–70), but also to the abovementioned letter by Alciphron, 4.15. From a structural perspective, the paradoxical, antithetical and epiphoric construction and sarcastic tone of the composition all reflect the almost monodistic form inherent to the epigrammatic genre and locate this letter within the characteristic framework of the stylistic resources

61 Heinemann [1909: 70].

62 The *genus dedicatorium*, the Greek *anathematikon*, consists of four primary elements that can never be omitted (donor, recipient, gift and delivery) and a dozen optional secondary elements that include "an encomiastic description of the gift". In these cases, the subject is inverted. Here too I follow Cairns's methodology and terminology. For references, see Gallé Cejudo [2001].

63 Heinemann [1909: 92].

of the epigram. Follett argued that a stylistic analysis of Philostratus's *Love letters* would reveal "les *cola* égaux, les effets d'antithèse et de chiasme, les assonances ou homéotéleutes, les groupes ternaires, les exclamations, les maximes, les effets d'asyndète ou de polysyndète, les hyperboles, les métaphores, le 'dialogue fictif', des procédés qui en quelque sorte rapprochent la prose d'art de la poésie".[64] I could argue exactly the same regarding this letter by Alciphron, whose formal and conceptual complexity deserves a brief comment.

It is a two-part composition (one could almost say distichous), consisting of a framing structure that opens and closes with two synonyms (ἀνιᾷς σαυτόν / μὴ ἐνόχλει) and is based internally on a dual, parallelistic affirmative-negative structure: χρυσῶν δεῖ—εἰ φιλεῖς, δός / γραμμάτων οὐ δεῖ—εἰ φιλαργυρεῖς, μὴ ἐνόχλει. This is a formally parallelistic opposition, but one which through (φιλ)αργυρεῖς evokes a chiastic structure (χρυσός / ἄργυρος). Furthermore, although it appears to be an antithetical opposition, the semantic goal is the same: to satisfy the *hetaira* with gold or peace.

The content of this brief[65] letter rests on a syntactic structure of increasing elements: a) a first simple opening sentence consisting of a rhetorical question that contains an apparent paradox; b) a second, extended, two-part sentence divided by a negative complement: δεῖ,—οὐ δεῖ; and c) a double conditional sentence in which the rhetorician makes full use of the abovementioned parallelistic, antithetical and chiastic effects.

The initial pseudo-paradox lies in the fact that the recipient of this letter has in turn written many letters to the sender, and should therefore be the one who is importuning the *hetaira*; however, in her eyes, he is tormenting himself. Nevertheless, the truth is that he does bother her, as she acknowledges in an 'epigrammatic thrust' at the close of the letter (μὴ ἐνόχλει). Moreover, there is a contrast between the narrow syntactic parallelism and the apparent semantic difference with the similarity reinforced by the anaphora δεῖ / οὐ δεῖ and εἰ φιλεῖς / εἰ φιλαργυρεῖς (I say apparent semantic difference, because as already noted, the goal is really the same: to benefit the *hetaira*). However, this parallelism is apparently broken twice: first, in the syntactic structure of the two protases, where there is a chiastic inversion of the implicit complements: εἰ φιλεῖς (με), δὸς (χρυσόν) / εἰ (ἄργυρον) φιλεῖς, μὴ (μοι) ἐνόχλει; and second, in the apodosis, imperative in both cases, but with an order in the first (δός) and a prohibition in the second (μὴ ἐνόχλει). Nevertheless, as noted earlier, this break is only apparent, because whether an order or a prohibition, the goal is to obtain or forbid

64 Follett [2000: 249].

65 It is so short that Schepers ad loc. considers it the answer to a now lost letter (*Fort. ante hoc responsum excidit ep. quaedam* Κρίτων Φιλουμένῃ).

that which was necessary or undesirable in the previous sentence: money or letters (χρυσῶν δεῖ > δός / γραμμάτων οὐ δεῖ > μὴ ἐνόχλει). Lastly, the person with whom the need is associated is also interesting, since the *hetaira* says that it is the recipient of the letter who is in need, whereas it is she who will receive what is needed.[66]

7 In Conclusion

To conclude, one can say that this type of generic levelling, whereby the formal characteristics and content of the letter, the exercise and minor poetic compositions such as the epigram become interchangeable, overlap or merge, highlights two literary phenomena. One is the strength of the epistolary form and its capacity to adapt or incorporate (it is no coincidence that the letter has been defined as a "generic sponge") other literary forms that try to reuse the generic epistolary format artificially. The second is that it reveals something directly related to the specific theme of this volume. Not only do the letters of Alciphron display a global unity, whereby greater and lesser internal mechanisms of association weave and support a defined and unified structure throughout, this generic relationship between letter, *progymnasma* and minor poems also acts as an external nexus, as an inter-genre syntagmatic axis, locating the letters of Alciphron in their exact generic and literary traditions and highlighting them as a genuine representative of the subgenre, since even in those forms furthest removed from the formal conventions and epistolary contents there is always a more or less similar correspondence in some of the other conserved collections of fictitious letters.

66 Note that μοι is recorded in the margin of the late *Leidensis codex Bibl. Publ. gr.* 67L (17th century), probably a *facilior* form, but one that D'Arnaud preferred and which was adopted by Meineke, Hercher and Schepers. Regardless, it should be understood that the aim is to obtain the *hetaira*'s favours.

CHAPTER 10

Typecast? Speaking Names in Alciphron

Owen Hodkinson

The names of Alciphron's characters (writers, addressees, and others named in the letters) are among the most immediately striking features of the text, from parasites with names like Scordosphrantes, 'Garlic-Sniffer', to shepherds with pastoral-derived literary names such as Corydon.* Despite this, on first impression, there has been very little interpretative or literary analysis of the phenomenon of *noms parlants* in this author—as distinct from cataloguing and analysing the names themselves and explaining their derivations or meanings. This is perhaps less surprising than it might first appear: the assumption by scholars is that Alciphron's games with names are simply a re-treading of the familiar boards of Old and New Comedy, and as such need no further probing. But, to date, no study has attempted to analyse in any detail how *noms parlants* actually function in the text, or what they contribute to it. The main aim of the present chapter (second section) is to begin to fill this gap. First, however, I shall present a more factual survey of some of the names in Alciphron to be discussed, and some others, to make up for the lack of any dedicated study giving an overview of the names, beyond Casevitz's survey of Book 1.[1]

What has been achieved in recent substantial contributions to the question is summarised here. Ureña Bracero argues that the names of correspondents given in the titles of Alciphron's letters are later editorial additions to the collection, not the inventions of the author.[2] As such, he treats the two as separate categories (and lists all names found in the collection in an appendix), observ-

* I would like to thank the organisers of the conference in Nice and the audience for their discussion of the paper; the organisers of a workshop in Uppsala in November 2016 and the audience for the discussion of a longer version in preparation for this chapter, especially Patricia Rosenmeyer for subsequent written comments on the draft; the organisers of the Kyknos panel 'Names in Narrative', John Morgan and Ian Repath, and audiences at the University of Liverpool and at the Université de Montréal (Classical Association and Classical Association of Canada 2008) where a version of this paper was first presented; Nikoletta Kanavou for helpful comments on a draft; and most especially Tiziana Drago with Piero Totaro and the staff of the library and classics department at Bari University for their wonderful hospitality and assistance during a Visiting Professorship during which I wrote the chapter.

1 Casevitz [2002]. His remark (248) that "on n' a pas assez étudié ces noms" still holds true today.

2 Ureña Bracero [1993, esp. 272–275].

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ing that "no se observa una inclinación tan exagerada a la creación en el caso de Alcifrón,"[3] by which he refers to the names found in the body of the letters and thus genuinely by Alciphron, not those in the titles, the latter of which display a greater degree of innovation in their onomastics. There is, of course, a category of names in the Venn diagram occurring both in the letters' titles and in the body of the letters themselves, to which we will return below. Ureña Bracero rightly points to the influence of New Comedy on Alciphron's methods of characterisation, including the frequent use of types (such as parasites) set in equally stock situations.[4]

Casevitz compiled a short survey of all names in Book 1, concluding with the valuable and surprising insight that: "Alciphron a soigné la cohérence de ses lettres, soit pour les noms des correspondants, soit pour les noms cités dans les *Lettres*, avec beaucoup d'ambiguïté, avec jeu sur le réel et l'imaginaire … Le réalisme des noms propres contribue à donner l'illusion mais il est réel: il y a peu de noms purement inventés, à en juger par la documentation dont nous disposons."[5] This is quite striking, and flies in the face of the *prima facie* 'made-up' nature of Alciphron's names. Unfortunately, however, Casevitz has not returned to Alciphron to complete his promised "éventuelle étude ultérieure d'ensemble",[6] so that one of the obvious questions that remains to be answered is whether and to what extent this conclusion about Book 1 is also true of Books 2–4. Perhaps (but only perhaps) another unfortunate aspect of the study is that it chooses to focus on a 'book', according to Schepers' book-divisions, when we are of course far from being certain about the original (or of the earliest discernable) order and division into books.[7] In some ways, what is needed is a study that ignores these book divisions and collates the data on names from all four books together. But since the work has already been done on 'Book 1', and to complete such a study on the entire corpus would require far more than a chapter, it makes sense here to focus on one of the three remaining Schepers

3 [1993: 275].

4 [1993: 277–278]. As well as several chapters in this volume, see especially Drago [2014a] and Funke [2016], also Höschele [2014] on Alciphron's New Comic heritage.

5 Casevitz [2002: 267]; cf. 254, concluding his section on the names of the correspondents, rightly notes that this is surprising: "contrairement à ce qu'on pourrait croire au premier abord, il y a peu de noms imaginés …: leur formation, à partir d'appellatifs, ou dérivés ou composés, reflète la diversité de la formation des noms propres "vrais" … Ces noms sont pour la plupart déjà attestés, dès l'époque classique (ve–ive siècles)." Alciphron seems to be like Aristophanes, then, in that "only a minority of significant names appear to be the poet's own inventions," Kanavou [2011: 11].

6 Casevitz [2002: 248].

7 See especially Morrison's and Marquis' chapters in this volume.

books. In other ways, the focus on a 'book' might not be so unfortunate; there are clear differences in the naming practices in the letters in 'Book 4' (i.e. in the correspondences of *hetairai*) especially, and also in terms of the prior attestation and verisimilitude of speaking names in 'Book 3' (i.e. the correspondences of parasites). Even if the text had a very different book division from the one currently assumed, or if there were no book division but only a mixture of letters from all four current books, it would be worth observing the names of each type separately as well as comparing them all together. Casevitz's study ought to have mentioned these issues, and addressed the arguments put forward by Ureña Bracero that the names are not original to Alciphron.[8] For the purposes of this chapter, I do not assume Schepers' book division to be Alciphron's, nor necessarily the correspondents' names and the headings, but consider the work both with and without those features, and the letters as stand-alone texts that could easily become anthologised or circulate individually. Beyond his (albeit important) observation quoted above, Casevitz offers no overall analysis or interpretation, remaining at the level of categorising and analysing the individual names found in Book 1, including whether they are attested as real names or apparently invented by Alciphron—valuable groundwork for an interpretative study (see below for more on his results). Furthermore, despite dividing his study into sections on correspondents and others named in the *Letters*, and including Ureña Bracero's study in his bibliography, Casevitz otherwise ignores the former's overall conclusions, including the question of whether it was Alciphron or a later editor that gave the correspondents their names.

Finally,[9] Schmitz, in his study of Alciphron as a sophistic text,[10] has a little to say about Alciphron's names as one device among several that the author uses to point to the artificiality of the text, because they are *noms parlants*: the recur-

8 As with many other recent studies, it would suffice for some purposes to state that we can only investigate the text we have, and if some of the ordering and all of the titles and their names go back to late antiquity—but not necessarily to Alciphron himself—we would nonetheless be undertaking a literary study of a text, a literary artefact, that was read and circulated with those features and in something like that form in late antiquity and since. For more hypothetical reconstructions of the author's text—perhaps in a completely different order, perhaps containing no titles and few or no correspondents' names—we may also undertake more tentative studies, but, either way, it should be clear what the problems are and which assumptions are being made.

9 I have not attempted to be exhaustive: of course, any substantial study of Alciphron is likely to make some mention of the speaking names that feature so frequently in his work, but the works mentioned in this paragraph have sections devoted specifically to the phenomenon; further relevant discussions are noted below. Rosenmeyer's indispensible book [2001a] has many observations on Alciphron's names as on other aspects.

10 Schmitz [2004].

rence of so many names that inform us of the character or her/his situation is *so* unrealistic that it can only be self-consciously so. Likewise, König's study of Alciphron's epistolarity also has a few pages on Alciphron's names,[11] commenting that "almost without exception, in Books 1–3, the names he chooses are absurdly unrealistic, and absurdly appropriate to habitats of their bearers." This seems quite right: it is only when investigations like Casevitz's and my first section below show that not so many of the names in Books 1–2 are actually unattested as one would have thought, and that most others are very close to attested names and/or composed only of elements attested in other names, that we begin to wonder whether lack of realism or verisimilitude is precisely the right way to think about Alciphron's names. This is not to deny that his naming practices are in any way remarkable, of course, but to say that they might be so despite being inherently verisimilar, or even through a *surfeit* of literary realism—that is, an over-use of the kinds of naming practices applied only to some characters in the conventionally realist literary genres, including New Comedy and its ancient and modern dramatic and novelistic descendants, but now applied to almost every character in a way that undercuts and comments metafictionally on those realist conventions.

After this summary of recent important contributions on names, we can observe that much still remains to be done, both in terms of detailed onomastic and etymological research on the facts about the names, especially outside Book 1, and in terms of interpreting the significance of these results for the understanding of the collection as a literary work. For the first part, there is not enough space here to apply the methods of Casevitz to books 2–4, nor to expand on or update his work on book 1 (that would be a task for a first full-scale commentary on Alciphron that is greatly needed). However, I have undertaken some initial work on Book 2, which will be summarised below (first section), in order to give more of the necessary background of factual information to the discussion. Book 2 was the obvious choice to begin with: Book 3, because of the tradition of parasites' (nick)names has surely the highest proportion of evidently invented names, for which an onomastic research of the kind undertaken for Books 1–2 would find little attestation; the case is simpler here, as too for Book 4, where the names are mostly those of real persons, and otherwise very commonly attested real names. In Book 2, on the other hand, there are less obvious answers to the question of what proportion of the names is attested, and the possibility of a surprising conclusion like Casevitz's

11 [2007: 277–280]. Neither Schmitz nor König engages with the question of the authenticity of the headings and the correspondents' names raised by Ureña Bracero.

regarding Book 1. Following this more data-focused first section, in the following section I shall offer some possible interpretations of the uses of names in Alciphron's work as a whole, in light of the observations made in previous studies and in my investigations so far.

1 Names in Alciphron Book 2: Summary of Results and Implications

1.1 *Correspondents' and Other Names*

Book 2 contains 39 letters, of which one (2.1) is missing a title and thus correspondents' names. There are three pairs with replies (2.6–7, 2.15–16, and 2.24–25), which share the names of their correspondents. No correspondent's name is repeated outside these pairs, so that there are 70 different correspondents' names (35 pairs of correspondents). Of these 70 names, thirteen feature in the body of the letter as well as in the title,[12] thus presumably (and this is assumed in all scholarly discussions) guaranteeing that they are the author's and not the additions of a later editor. A further correspondent's name, Pasion (2.36), occurs in the body of two letters outside Book 2,[13] which would lead to the same assumption. Thus we are left with fourteen correspondents' names that are more securely attributed to Alciphron, and 56 that could more easily have been added by a later editor. Of course, in theory it would have been relatively easy for a later editor to insert his invented correspondents' names into the body of some of the letters, adding them as a title, so there is no guarantee at all. However, it is far more likely that a hypothetical editor who added titles with correspondents' names did not make any alterations to the content of the texts that he found: there is no positive evidence to support modern editorial tampering with the text of the letter bodies by removing names, even if the titles, to any who followed Ureña Bracero's hypothesis, might seem fair game for drastic editorial intervention. For now we shall investigate both groups and compare them, to see whether any indications give further weight to these arguments.[14]

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12 Anthophorion (26.1), Gemellos (25.1), Eustachys (16.1), Thrasonides (13.1), Kallikomides (32.1), Koriskos (31.1), Kotion (30.1), Lerion (14.1), Moschion (35.1), Nomios (22.1), Pithacnion (15.1, also 3.10.4), Salaconis (24.1), Phoibiane (6.1).

13 1.13 and 3.30.4.

14 In addition to these 70 names, Book 2 has a further nineteen names of humans (gods and heroes, etc. are excluded for obvious reasons). This rises to 20 names if we include Plangon, the name of a Thracian puppy in 19.3; to 21 if we include Kekrops, the MSS' reading at 7.2, but the correction to Kerkops adopted by modern editions is far preferable. These again can be more surely assumed to be Alciphron's, rather than additions by a later editor. NB The state of Alciphron's MSS necessitates investigating many further variants of

1.2 *Prior Attestation of Names*

First, what are the assumptions in investigating prior attestation of names? The reason for doing this, as Casevitz did for Book 1, is to discover whether the names can be traced back to Alciphron's (or an editor's) 'pure invention', or whether instead they were merely chosen from among the vast number of real names, or names of literary characters, to fit the situation. Attestation as the name of a fictional or literary character counts for these purposes as attestation, of course, since many of Alciphron's names are evidently borrowed from (especially comic) literary figures, and not pure inventions. I am not concerned too much with the frequency of attestations: loss of evidence means that even a name for which we have one attestation was almost certainly borne by several other individuals, and will more likely than not have been encountered by a well-read, sophistic author.[15] Names that I state here are 'attested' appear at least once either in *TLG* as fictional or literary characters, or in the *LGPN*,[16] as real individuals, up to around the third century AD or up to and including the imperial period where no more precise date can be given to the attestation.[17] The loss of evidence from antiquity and the large quantity of names only attested a handful of times necessarily leads to the assumption that there were other, admittedly rarer, names, for which we do not have any evidence: a name's being unattested, then, does not mean that Alciphron or an editor invented it, and we should be cautious in assuming that it does, especially where the name contains common name elements in an unattested combination or where it is as a whole very similar to attested names. In particular, note that we have far less evidence for female and slave names than for free men (e.g. in Attica, known men outnumber known women by 10:1).[18]

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correspondents' names found in them besides those adopted by Schepers (and followed by Benner and Fobes): all names resulting from textual variants were checked.

15 That said, we should of course not ignore frequency of attestation or lack of attestation altogether: less frequently attested names in our evidence might not have sounded familiar to Alciphron's contemporary readers and thus draw their attention to any significances they might hold as *noms parlants*.

16 Vols I–VB and the addenda to vol. IIA.

17 Again, the loss of evidence means that the imprecision of Alciphron's date and the attestation might not be significant; if we first had evidence for a name being used shortly after Alciphron was writing, we should not, of course, assume that we have evidence for the first holder of that name, but only the earliest evidence for a holder of that name.

18 See Kanavou [2011: 20–22] and the introduction generally (1–23) for the most well-informed methodological discussion of applying onomastic research to speaking names in literary texts, in that case Aristophanes; Kanavou has worked as an editor on the *LGPN* project team in addition to working on names in literary comedy and fiction. On Aristophanes, Kanavou similarly cautions that lack of attestation can in no way be taken as

TABLE 10.1 Attested and unattested names in Book 2

Book 2	Total	Unattested	Percent unattested
Names in body of letter *but not* in title (named characters who are *not* correspondents)	19[a]	0	0%
Names of correspondents *both* in body of letter *and* in title[b]	14	6[c]	43%
Names of correspondents in title *but not* in body	56	19[d]	34%
Names of correspondents TOTAL (14+56)	70	25	36%

a See above n. 14.
b See above, text to n. 13, on Pasion.
c Anthophorion (26), Eustachys (16), Kallikomides (32), Lerion (14), Pithacnion (15, also 3.10.4), Salaconis (24).
d Agelarchides (5), Amnion (3), Dryades (39), Dryantidas (8), Epiphanion (37), Epiphyllis (35), Eunape (18), Eupetalos (4), Eustaphylos (19), Euchaites (29), Kreniades (17), Megaloteles (34), Melione (39), Pityiskos (20), Polyalsos (19), Pratinos (34), Trygodorus (12), Philomoschos (3), Chronion (8).

These caveats stated, the numbers and identities of completely unattested names in Book 2 are set out in Table 10.1.

We can see that there is no great difference in the proportion of unattested, and thus *perhaps* purely invented, correspondents' names between those that occur in the heading only and those found in the body also. The difference that does exist actually shows Alciphron if anything being slightly *more* inventive in those names that occur in the letter body too—and thus, following Ureña Bracero's hypothesis, Alciphron would be more inventive when it comes to names of correspondents inserted in the letters than the editor who added the names of correspondents to them as titles. But the numbers, especially on the second line, are too small to make this difference of proportion significant, especially given other caveats. The first line confirms that Alciphron inserts his fictional characters either into the real world or into a literary world, usually of

evidence of the poet's invention; on male *vs* female names, p. 21 n. 77. *LGPN* also does not include slave names, which may or may not be significant for most of Alciphron's correspondents and other characters—many are lowly, but whether they are to be imagined as slaves in most cases is another question; in any case, their names are often more colourful than the typical slave's Ethnic name. See also Kanavou [2010: 606–608] for methodology and limitations working with *LGPN* and the Greek novel.

TABLE 10.2 Names of correspondents first attested later or gaining more attestations later

Amarakine (35), **Gemellos** (24–25, Lat. Gemellus), Eraston (2), Thalliskos (33), **Phoebiane** (6)	Imperial
Koriskos (31)	1BC–1AD
Ampelion (27), Kotinos (12, Lat. Cotinus)	1AD
Scopiades (30)	2–3AD

comedy, and uses names of historical figures and literary characters to populate the stage of his letters. These names are also referred to by his invented characters. The large discrepancy between zero and many unattested names between the first and the following lines—and thus between the naming practices most securely the author's on one hand, and those less and those least securely the author's on the other—might in theory lead one to conclude that a later editor not only added the names of correspondents found in the titles, but also those found in the letters, if one were trying to defend Ureña Bracero's hypothesis. But given Alciphron's interest in type scenes and stock characters, and his borrowing from genres such as comedy that use speaking names, as well as his play on names to be discussed below, this discrepancy is hardly surprising. There is little reason on the basis of prior attestation to assume that Alciphron did not bestow names on all his correspondents: he is approximately as prone to invention in those names of correspondents referred to in the letter body as in those found only in the title—in fact, slightly more so.

1.3 *Later Attested Names*

Looking at the dates at which names of correspondents are either first attested or become popular, too, we can see no distinction between the names that appear only in titles and those that occur in the body also. That is, while many of the names that are attested, in both groups, are first found in the classical or Hellenistic period, with many of them even being common, there are some in both groups that are not attested till much later, perhaps contemporary with Alciphron (this is illustrated by Table 10.2).

Names in **bold** are those that occur in the body of the letters as well as in the titles, indicating that there is no difference in the lateness of the names' attestations, where they are attested, used by the author of the letters' bodies and the titles. This is true also of some 'near misses': for example, though Epiphanion (37), **Eustachys** (15), and Chronion (8) are nowhere attested, names beginning Epiphan- become very popular and increasingly attested in the Imperial period, Chronia and Chronis are first attested in the Imperial period, while

Eustachis is first attested in the 3rd–4th century AD.[19] Importantly, the names that are labelled in this chapter as unattested remain unattested throughout antiquity: there is no sudden arrival of real bearers of these missing names after Alciphron's probable dates, in Late Antiquity or the Byzantine period, which could have led to the conclusion that we are dealing with the additions of a much later editor.

1.4 *Names in Paired Letters and Correspondences*

Of the correspondents' names that occur in the body of the letters as well as in the titles, several occur in pairs of letters, as follows: Alciphr. 1.21–22, 2.6–7, **2.15–16**, and **2.24–25**. In the cases in bold print, both correspondents are named in the body of the letter, in the others, only one. This leaves only two pairs or sets of letters in which this does not occur: 1.11–12 and 1.17–19. Fruitful comparison can be made with Aelian's *Epistles* here too: for in both texts, pairs and corresponding sets form only a small minority among the letters, and in both texts, names appearing in both the body of the text and in the title form a small minority as well. In Aelian, all three sets or pairs contain the names of one or both correspondents in the body of the letter as well as in the heading:[20] *Ep.* 7–8, **11–12**, and 13–16, while most of the rest of the letters only contain the correspondents' names in the headings. This overlap between two groups of letters, both of which are a minority in both collections, is surely no accident. In a culture in which texts consisting of stand-alone parts, including books of letters, are readily anthologised, circulated separately in their individual parts, and re-ordered, the advantage for the author to insert the correspondent's or correspondents' names in such a pair or set of corresponding letters is obvious: to ensure that they are kept together and read as a set, rather than separated, thus spoiling much of the effect. Conversely, the advantages of including the name of the correspondent in the body of a short epistolary text, which can entirely conventionally give both correspondents' names in the opening formula, is usually negligible. These authors would have good reason, then, for including the names in the body of paired and corresponding sets of letters as well as in their headings; and, since the presence of these names and of others in headings is nothing suspect in itself, if we believe that the authors bestowed names on these correspondents, there is no reason they could not also have bestowed them on all the rest.

19 Stachys *simplex* is attested, though; as Casevitz [2002] found for Book 1, Alciphron's unattested names are often constructed from name elements that are well attested.

20 Ureña Bracero [1993: 295–296] for Aelian.

TABLE 10.3 Attested and unattested names in Book 1

Book 1	Total	Unattested	Percent unattested
Names in body of letter *but not* in title (named characters who are *not* correspondents)	16	3	19%
Names of correspondents *both* in body of letter *and* in title	5	3	60%
Names of correspondents in title *but not* in body	31	14	45%
Names of correspondents TOTAL (5+31)	36	17	47%

1.5 *Comparison of Book 2 Results with Casevitz on Book 1*

Of the names in Book 2 that are unattested, many, when given the Casevitz treatment, would not turn out to be 'purement imaginaire',[21] but are either constructed from elements that are commonly used in attested names or are not very different from attested names at all. We do not have space here to elaborate on the evidence for this. Suffice to say that although for instance *Ep.*3's Dryantidas or *Ep.*19's Eustaphylos are not attested, many names beginning with Dry- are, and there are several known individuals named Staphylos or Staphyle; Polyalsos (19) is likewise unattested but Poly- is of course a very common name component.

Following Casevitz,[22] Table 10.3 for Book 1 allows us to compare its use of names with that of Book 2 in Table 10.1 above.

We can see a similar pattern between the two books, especially given the low numbers involved (far lower in Book 1 than in Book 2), which does not allow significance to be derived from small variations in proportion. In both books, Alciphron is either very uninventive (Book 1, 19% of names unattested) or not at all inventive (Book 2, 0% unattested) in the names of characters who are not correspondents; in both books, he is in fact more innovative when it comes to correspondents' names that also appear in the bodies of the letters, which suggests again that if there is reason to suspect any correspondents' names of being later additions, we should suspect all of them, including those seemingly 'guaranteed' by their presence in the letter itself.

21 Casevitz [2002: 248–256].

22 For our present purposes, I have accepted Casevitz's data without updating the research on Book 1.

1.6 *Interim Conclusions: Names in Alciphron Book 2 and Beyond*

Far more work needs to be done on the names and naming practices of Alciphron (and the hypothetical later editor, if such a figure is behind some of the names). Casevitz's work on Book 1 needs to be updated and expanded using *LGPN*, the work begun above on Book 2 expanded, and similar work to be undertaken on Book 3 and, to a far lesser extent, Book 4. From the results so far, however, there appears to be no pressing claim for the hypothetical editor inventing the names of correspondents in the titles. Furthermore, if this editor were indeed the source of the names and not Alciphron himself, there is certainly no evidence that the correspondents' names in the titles only should be separated from the correspondents' names also mentioned in the letter bodies. Both might be equally suspect, and only Occam's razor would save names in letter bodies from the same level of suspicion. That is, the explanation that the hypothetical editor also added the correspondents' names to some letter bodies could only be rejected because it is less simple than the alternative—that the names occurred in the letters already, and that he extrapolated them to create titles as well as adding to them many more names of his own invention.

The pattern found by Casevitz in Book 1 is borne out by Book 2: there are fewer correspondents' names unattested than it appears at first sight, and very few indeed when we look at highly similar names, names composed of the same elements, and when considering that some of these are supposed to be nicknames rather than the character's 'given' name. Indeed, very few names are purely fictional, or therefore 'unrealistic' as names *per se*, and it is, in fact, only the accumulation of so many of them that makes them unrealistic names.

It is clear from a glance at Ureña Bracero's lists of names in both the body and the headings of the letters (293–295) that a similar pattern can also be traced in Book 3, though I would not hazard a guess as to the proportions of unattested names. The presence, however, of several recognisable real names and literary figures' names in the bodies of the letters there, compared with the extravagant parasites' names that make up most of the correspondents' names in Book 3, makes the similarity between this book and the first two clear, so that the pattern is more or less true of the collection as a whole, as Ureña Bracero observed. Book 4 is quite different, with most names in both lists being instantly recognisable as common names or names of historical or literary figures. For this reason, these names are of little interest in discussing *noms parlants*.

2 Speaking Names in Alciphron

As has been pointed out and is evident at a glance, Alciphron's characters (especially in Books 1–3)—both the correspondents and some of the other characters named in the letter bodies—often have names that reflect either their profession, situation in general, habitat, or the particular scenario in which they are involved. The discussions of Alciphron's names mentioned earlier point out many of these contextual reasons for correspondents' and other characters' names, as indeed do most studies of Alciphron to some extent or other.[23] These name games sometimes provide additional jokes to the other witticisms and wordplays found in a letter.[24] For the purposes of this section, I will examine name games in the bodies of the letters and in the titles as potentially separate phenomena in terms of authorship and/or in terms of how they function. But assuming for now that these name games can be traced back to Alciphron himself, in most letters they are still part of a detachable title. Alciphron's letters had ideally to be able to function on their own, if detached from his titles in transmission, anthologisation, etc.: and so they do in reality. The names sometimes add an extra point that can enrich a scenario or a characterisation, but it is clear enough from each letter's contents, even without the heading, that we are dealing with a rustic, a fisherman, and so on.[25]

2.1 *Names Commented on in a Self-Conscious Manner*

It is important to start with this category, as it comprises the names most securely attributable to Alciphron's own invention. In some cases (though not most), a significant part of the letter's point and content would be lost if we suspected these names—they are not just names in isolation, to add an additional wordplay on top of the situation, but integral to it. One such case is Polybios in 3.25, already discussed briefly by both Schmitz and König:[26]

> Σκορδοσφράντης Μεριδᾷ.
> Ἡράκλεις, ὅσα ὑπέστην πράγματα ῥύμματι καὶ νίτρῳ Χαλαστραίῳ χθιζινοῦ ζωμοῦ τοὐμοὶ περιχυθέντος τὴν γλισχρότητα ἀποκαθαίρων. καὶ οὐχ οὕτω με

23 See the contributions mentioned and summarised in my introduction.

24 'Additional' is used advisedly, when we are dealing with names that do not occur in the body of the letter, since it is possible that they were never part of the text of the letter itself even if original to the author.

25 The fact that they can be read perfectly coherently without their titles *could* be indicative of the titles' later addition, but should not *necessarily* be taken to indicate this.

26 Schmitz [2004: 99–100]; König [2007: 279].

> ἔδακνεν ἡ ὕβρις ὅσον τὸ διάφορον τοῦ ὑβρίζοντος. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ Ἀνθεμίωνος υἱὸς τοῦ πλουσιωτάτου τῶν Ἀθήνησι καὶ Ἀξιοθέας τῆς κατὰ γένος ἐκ Μεγακλέους ὡρμημένης, ὁ δὲ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἐργαζόμενος πατρὸς μὲν ἀσήμου μητρὸς δὲ βαρβάρου, Σκυθίδος οἶμαι ... λυπεῖ δέ με οὐχ ἥκιστα πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἡ τῆς προσηγορίας ἀποβολή. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πατέρες Πολύβιόν με ἔθεντο καλεῖσθαι, ἡ τύχη δὲ ἀμείψασα τοὔνομα Σκορδοσφράντην πρὸς τῶν ὁμοτέχνων ἠνάγκασε προσαγορεύεσθαι.
>
> 3.25
>
> Scordosphrantes to Meridas ('Garlic-sniffer to Crumb').
> Heracles! What a time I had cleaning off with soap and Chalastraean soda yesterday's sticky broth that was poured over me! And it was not so much the insult that stung me as the difference between my rank and my assailant's. Why! I am the son of Anthemion, who was the richest man in Athens, and my mother was Axiothea, who sprang from the line of Megacles; whereas the fellow who did this to me had a father who was a nobody and a mother who was a foreigner—a Scythian slave, I think, ... And what distresses me not least of all, added to my other grievances, is the loss of my proper name: my parents named me Polybius, but Fortune has changed my name and has compelled me to answer to 'Scordosphrantes'—which is what my confrères call me.[27]

This letter, in referring to the correspondent's name having been changed for a sobriquet or nickname taken on by the former Polybios to suit his new, much lowlier role in society, is centrally about the transformation into and taking on the identity of a parasite, including the names parasites are given in the literary tradition. The first thing we can say is that there is no doubt that the name Scordosphrantes belongs to the body of the letter, as a product of Alciphron, not a later addition by an editor, since it is not just a passing or additional wordplay but integral to the last part of the letter. The meaning of the name itself is one of those frequent types in Alciphron that identify the station and role of the name's bearer, in this case a parasite, and has no more specific connection to the scenario featuring him.

Besides being read literally as a vignette in our parasite's life and aetiology of his name, the letter can also be seen as a *mise-en-abyme* of the whole collection, or of the parasites' letters within it. This self-reference to the changed role and name of Polybios-Scordosphrantes is a metafictional reference to the

27 Translations are all by Benner-Fobes [1949], adapted as necessary.

name game that goes on in the rest of Alciphron's work: but one that playfully says to the reader, not (or not *only*) 'these names are unrealistic, and I am drawing attention to my work's fictionality'; but rather, cheekily, 'If you think this name game is wearing thin and these names are absurdly unrealistic, you're wrong: parasites' names *are* made up nicknames, not their given names, so what would you expect them to be?' The real, childhood names of parasites are perfectly banal and attested, things like 'Polybius', but people like Alciphron's elite readers—those eating at the tables the parasites hang around, or attending the symposia at which the *hetairai* entertain, or reading works of this kind—will never need or care to know the names they were given at birth.[28] This is actually more verisimilar than its opposite, for the parasites and also for the *hetairai* with typical *hetaira* names like Leaena. In apparently self-consciously exposing his unrealistic and highly artificial naming practices in the letters featuring *noms parlants*—and in all the letters, if the title names are his—Alciphron is actually making an outrageously audacious claim to verisimilitude in his names, pulling the rug from under the elite reader's easy complicity in most of the corpus with the knowingness of the author (a seemingly pastoral-style game in its apparent uniting of the author and reader to look down on the lower characters with great ironic distance[29]), to show them that these people once had and were addressed by real names too, and perhaps as in this case names of members of the wealthy elite before they fell upon hard times; 'it could happen to you, too, dear reader!'. *Epistle* 3.25 then uses a double irony to expose and make less comfortable the name game that is he has been playing with his readers over the characters' heads for much of the time.

But there is a further layer of irony on top of this, of course: while Polybios is an attested and very real name, it is itself another *nom parlant* in this letter, speaking as it does of the character's former wealth before his comedown to

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28 See Rosenmeyer [2001a: 295], on 3.27.2: "A great part of the insult [in being called a flatterer or parasite] lies in the fact that an equal would be addressed by name, not by social category, so that in calling him a parasite, the women deny him the special relationship with his master that he imagines he has." This goes for the acquired names that mark one out as a parasite, as well as for the label itself. For another letter playing with a change of name, see Thrasonides in 2.13, with Rosenmeyer [2001a: 286–287]. For parasite letters as expressing tensions between elite and non-elite status, see also König [2007: 279] on 3.19, arguing persuasively for many layers of meaning in the name of the parasite Autokletos, including that he is a 'gate-crasher' into the category of elite identity.

29 On pastoral modes of representation and modes of discourse in Alciphron, as well as further below and Drago in this volume, see Rosenmeyer [2001a: 261, 278–280]; Hodkinson [2012], all with further bibliography.

parasite status.[30] So Alciphron has his cake and eats it, too: he tells us that these are merely nicknames for lowly characters defined by their role, and therefore we should not expect them to be realistic—and then chooses an apt, 'real' name for the fictional character used to make that point, thus giving the lie to that metaliterary claim to verisimilitude. Besides the well-documented New Comic influence on Alciphron, we should also think of Hellenistic pastoral and mime, and the novel, in all of which certain lower character types emerge and develop that are stereotyped, sometimes negatively portrayed, sometimes idealised, and which are identified with their roles in society and professions or with their status and environment.[31] In this letter then, as he does occasionally, Alciphron allows us to look behind the mask, to see the 'real' person and in this case the real name behind the persona that he takes on in his life as a parasite—the kind of persona that he takes on in his life as a parasite—the kind of persona to which most of Alciphron's characters are essentially reduced in the majority of the letters.[32] The case of Scordosphrantes is thus an example of the literary self-consciousness of Alciphron's text about the name game it is playing: the characters are all playing a role for the entertainment of the elite audience, for whom they are defined by their profession, their quaint rusticity, etc., and their real identity is not important. The negative portrayal of the letter writer's profession and concomitant lifestyle is also typical of Alciphron, exposing the unpleasant reality underlying an often idealised literary construct such as the comic parasite, the courtesan, or the countryside as seen in elite literature.

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30 As David Konstan points out to me, an additional (not exclusive) significance of Polybios might of course be 'having multiple lives', which fits the character's situation as well: Alciphron's games sometimes have several layers even within a single name. There is not space here either to expand on the potential significance of Polybios' parents' names, but no name in this letter is without at least one relevant significance, as Dimitrios Iordanoglou observes: he is the son of two figures whose names have Platonic associations—another Anthemion is the father of Socrates' accuser Anytus, who underwent the opposite change of fortunes to his namesake's son (Plato, *Meno* 90a), and another Axiothea was a student of Plato (Themistius, *Orations*, 23. 295c). Thus the whole family of our Parasite seems to have multiple lives.

31 Among the novels, beyond Longus who gives everyone a *nom parlant*, Heliodorus uses them the most (though of course his novel is also the longest), but restricts them more to the more minor characters to reveal their roles in the plot or something else about them, whereas characters like Theagenes, Charikleia, and Knemon are less remarkably named. Cf. also Christy [2016: 265 n. 20] for speaking names in the 'epistolary novel', the *Epistles* of Chion.

32 Alciphron's layered and ironical play with his characters' roles and identities, as well as having similarities with pastoral, can also of course be compared with New Comedy's play with masks, in which authors such as Menander can show a distance (often ironi-

The effacing of real identities for certain professional roles—usually slaves, servants, parasites or courtesans—is something expected and 'normal' in and thus normalised by literature such as comedy. But it is not common for ordinary, citizen characters, even impoverished rustics and fishermen, beyond Alciphron, who plays the same trick on all his characters. Indeed, the characters who provide the entertainment in Alciphron's first two books would in Old Comedy be the 'salt-of-the-earth' types around whom a plot could revolve and with whom the audience could identify. Alciphron does have his Old Comic moments; but his sensibilities are on the whole more in line with New Comic and later literature, in which poor rustics and other disadvantaged characters are mere stereotypes, and foils for a better, and better-off, class of character.

Alciphron focuses entirely on these 'foils', though,[33] and dispenses with those who would in most texts be either the main character or, in the case of pastoral and mime, the elite reader implied and sometimes present in the frame within which the lower characters are depicted. In doing this, he sometimes explores the 'real world' of these people, which consists in large measure of hardships and poverty, from their own perspective, as opposed to the traditional elite perspective which either idealises, glamourises, or vilifies them, but in any case stereotypes them. This is what happens in Alciphron's getting behind the mask in the example discussed here.

Another parasite's letter which similarly comments on this aspect of role-playing by Alciphron's characters is 3.34,[34] in which a parasite tells a colleague about his attempt to change profession and become a farmer.[35] It is at such points, where these different worlds collide, that some of the most interesting letters are situated.[36] This parasite, Limopyctes ('Famine-Fighter' for Benner and Fobes), is fed up with the meagre crumbs he gets, and is inspired by his pastoral acquaintance Corydon to give farming a go instead. Though the writer's name is relevant to his situation and to his ultimate fate—he is fighting off famine and seeking any means to stay alive, at the end resorting to armed robbery—there is little play with the name in the letter itself, so that it is one of those names that add something extra to the text without being integrated

cally) between the stereotype of the mask and the complexity of the person; on this, see e.g. Ferrari [2001: xxxvii–xxxviii]. Cf. Hodkinson [2013: 302–303] for similar in Aelian's *Epistles*.

33 See below, nn. 47–51, for differences in the naming of major and peripheral characters.

34 On which see Rosenmeyer [2001a: 289–290].

35 Thus moving from the world of Book 3 to Book 2 according to Schepers' division, and certainly moving between Alciphron's two very distinct worlds, further subdivided in two, of the city and its margins. See Drago, this volume.

36 See Rosenmeyer [2001a: 277–285].

into it. The name of the writer's farmer friend Corydon, however (named twice in the letter, 34,1 and 2), is highly significant, and as one of the names found only in the body and not in the title, it constitutes another secure example of Alciphron's own use of significant names, alongside the kind of play with the correspondent's identity seen in 3.25 above.

> Λιμοπύκτης Χαλκοκυδοίμῳ.
> Κορύδωνι τῷ γεωργῷ συνήθης ἐπιεικῶς ἦν, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐξεχεῖτο ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τῷ γέλωτι, Ἀττικῆς στωμυλίας καὶ ξένης ἢ κατὰ τοὺς χωρίτας ἐπαΐων. τοῦτον ἰδὼν ἕρμαιον ᾠήθην, εἰ τῶν κατὰ ἄστυ πραγμάτων ἀπαλλαγεὶς εἰς ἀγρὸν βαδιοίμην … στείλας ἐμαυτὸν ἀγροικικῶς, νάκος ἐναψάμενος καὶ σμινύην λαβών, αὐτοσκαπανεὺς ἐδόκουν. ἕως μὲν οὖν ἐν παιδιᾶς μέρει ἔπραττον ταῦτα …
> 34.1–2
>
> Limopyctes to Chalcocydoemus ('Famine-Fighter to Copper-Rattler').
> I was fairly well acquainted with farmer Korydon, and he indulged freely in making fun of me, for he had a strain of Attic chatter quite above the level of our country folk. When I saw him I thought it would be a godsend for me if I could get away from the annoyances of town life and move into the country … I got myself up farmer-fashion, with a sheepskin around my shoulders and a mattock in my hand, and looked like a regular trench digger. Well, for a time it was sport for me to do this …

Taken against the background of the rest of the text, this beginning can only turn out badly for the parasite who would be a farmer. For one thing, all the characters in Books 1 and 2 are desperately trying to get out of the poverty of the countryside, and they clearly know better than this parasite whose urban perspective on the countryside is as unrealistic as that of the elites he sponges off, and who persist in depicting the countryside as a pastoral idyll in their literature.[37]

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37 The pastoral unrealism of Corydon, besides that discussed below, also includes the city-dweller's perception of him as idealised from an ethical perspective, and of his labour as almost nothing but waiting for the earth to produce spontaneously for him: … εἰ … εἰς ἀγρὸν βαδιοίμην καὶ συνεσοίμην ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ, γεωργῷ ἀπράγμονι καὶ ἐργάτῃ, οὐκ ἐκ δικαστηρίων οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ σείειν κατὰ ἀγορὰν ἀδίκους ἐπινοοῦντι πόρους, ἀλλὰ γῆθεν ἀναμένοντι τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν ἔχειν: "… if I could move to the country and be with a man who was my friend, a peaceable, hard-working farmer, who was not intent on making an unjust living in the market place from litigation or from blackmail but who waited quietly to enjoy the fruits of the earth." See Drago, in this volume, on this kind of idealism in Alciphron's countryside, including his use of the *automatos bios* motif, and on opposing, more realistic, representations.

Confronted with the hard labour of the farm, of course, he is soon disillusioned, and he wants to go back. The name of Korydon here is an obvious metaliterary marker: it is the name of the shepherd in Theocritus' *Idyll* 4 and Virgil's *Eclogue* 2, and thus evokes the pastoral world, which to this parasite *is* the real countryside, till he learns better from experience.[38] It is easy to take the whole first sentence of this letter as a metaliterary game, taking off from the name Corydon. 'Farmer Corydon' is clearly much more educated and eloquent than any real rustics with whom the parasite might be familiar, as are the rustics of pastoral poetry: he is the archetypal idealised pastoral rustic, in fact. There is an odd contrast here between Corydon, with whom the parasite is 'quite well acquainted', as one might be with a text,[39] and 'our country folk' with whom the parasite must also be familiar enough to make the distinction that he does—and indeed, as his fellow countrymen, he must be familiar with them through encounters in the real world, perhaps unlike his more literary 'acquaintance'. Yet he does not see that Corydon, with his apparently superior education and erudite speech marking him as an instance of the ironic pastoral game whereby characters both are and are not like the rustics they seem, is an exception rather than the rule, despite giving the external reader enough information to see that; he continues to base his idea of country life on the literary Corydon rather than his more familiar and real country folk.[40] This has additional and more specific significance when we recall *Idyll* 4: Corydon there is temporarily elevated above his fellow goatherd, Battus, and engages him in friendly banter, which Battus does not always understand. But it is also applicable to most pastoral and other Theocritean 'low' characters, who despite being rustics or of lower status, are speaking the elite author's and readers' language; and thus applicable to many of Alciphron's 'low' characters too, as to all of Aelian's rustic epistolographers as his metaliterary sphragis, *Ep.* 20 *fin.*, points out:

38 It does not matter whether Alciphron's Corydon 'is' Theocritus' or not—there are differences, such as his Attic dialect. Either/both as a specific character or/and as a representative of the pastoral genre or the *Idylls* in a more general way, 'Corydon' functions as a *nom parlant* of another kind: a name chosen for its associations and significance, but in this case derived from literature, rather than from the etymology of the name itself.

39 συνήθης (with dative) meaning 'familiar with' being equally applicable to things as to people: *LSJ* s.v., II.1, so that the *idea* of Corydon, or Corydon as a literary character, is present as a secondary meaning for the reader who is likewise familiar with Corydon in that sense.

40 See Rosenmeyer [2001a: 279] on Alciphron's portrayal of both an idealised countryside and a more realistic one.

> Εἰ δὲ σοφώτερα ταῦτα ἐπέσταλταί σοι ἢ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀγρῶν χορηγίαν, μὴ θαυμάσῃς· οὐ γάρ ἐσμεν οὔτε Λίβυες οὔτε Λυδοὶ ἀλλ’ Ἀθηναῖοι γεωργοί.
>
> If these written words addressed to you are too clever for the country to supply, do not marvel; for we are not Libyan nor Lydian, but Athenian farmers.

This, like Alciphron 3.34.1, and unlike Theocritus of course, makes specifically *Attic* linguistic sophistication the key distinction, in keeping with the fashions of the Second Sophistic.[41] Where Alciphron differs is both in frequently undercutting and exposing as well as playing these pastoral-like games and literary conventions (Aelian exposes them only once, at the end); and in mixing these with the similar undercutting and exposure of New Comic type characters and of other dramatic roles and conventions.

The way the parasite goes about his transformation is also telling: he thinks that looking the part is all it takes, and accordingly gets himself a farming outfit from his nearest farming supplies outlet—or perhaps, rather, from a theatrical costume seller. Dressing and acting the role of a rustic is all that he achieves; actually using his mattock for a sustained period is beyond him. The letter comments on the artificiality inherent in all Alciphron's characters because of the quasi-pastoral game of making them resemble both the low characters they are supposed to be and the elites writing and reading them—that is, commenting on the different 'roles' or 'masks' the author is assuming, which can hardly conceal the sophisticated author completely; nor are they supposed to. At the same time it comments on the conventions of pastoral, especially its idealising of the countryside and its labour by the city-dwellers; eventually in this letter, as is often the case in Book 2, it is shown in a far more realistic light.

When he returns to the city, having given up because it is too much like hard work, his identity has altered irrevocably, at least in the eyes of his previous city acquaintances:

> … ἐλθὼν οὖν μετὰ μήκιστον χρόνον οὐκέθ’ ὁμοίως δεκτὸς οὐδὲ χαρίεις ἐδόκουν, ἀλλά τις ὄρειος καὶ τραχὺς καὶ ἀπηχής, ὥστε αἱ μὲν οἰκίαι τῶν πλουσίων πᾶσαί μοι λοιπὸν ἀπεκέκλειντο …
>
> 3.34.4

41 On the Aelian passage see most recently Hodkinson [2013: 273–274], with further bibliography.

> Coming back after a long time, instead of being the welcome and attractive guest that I had been, I was accounted a sort of hillbilly, rough and out of place; so that after this the houses of the rich were all closed against me …

The role-playing and costume are convincing, at least to city-folk; but that is no surprise, as they have no more idea than he did of what real country-folk are like. This conclusion could be interpreted in two ways, I think: either he succeeds only in becoming what appears to city-dwellers to be a rustic, because he is to start with imitating a literary rustic, Corydon, rather than a real one; or on the other hand, we might say that this parasite's misadventure is further proof that when your identity is defined by your name, you cannot change professions or identities merely by dressing the part: Corydon is pastoral (both professionally and in terms of literary genre) by name and nature, Limopyctes a parasite by name and nature (and an inhabitant of the New Comic urban world and genre), and each is inextricably bound to his own world. Although both readings can remain open, the way that several other attempted changes of profession or fortune habitually turn out in Alciphron—that is, unsuccessfully[42]—tends to reinforce the latter reading.

2.2 *Plurals of Names as a Kind of 'Speaking Name' for a Type*

Another kind of 'name' useful to consider, one that is not technically a *nom parlant* but performs a similar function to some instances of *noms parlants*, is that usage whereby a name of an individual is employed in the plural to denote 'people of such a kind as [name]'. This usage is not commented on in the studies of Alciphron's names, and is obscured by Ureña Bracero's lists of names in the headings and bodies of the letters, because he lists the names as found, in the plural form, as if these are names of individuals: so for instance in 2.32.3, we find:

> … οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθήνησι νεοπλούτων Φείδωνές εἰσι καὶ Γνίφωνες μικροπρεπέστεροι,

> … and the other Athenian *nouveaux riches* are Pheidons and Gniphons of the more thrifty sort,

42 Cf. 3.35, which combines this failed attempt to change professions with further metaliterary theatrical play: the 'role' that the parasite takes on in that letter is precisely that of an actor (who has to take on the costume and role of a slave), but naturally it was too late in his life to learn this new profession and thus he fails miserably (but what might have been, if only the first role required of him had been that other Comic stereotype,

and Ureña Bracero's list gives us Γνίφωνες and Φείδωνες. Other examples are 2.8.2 Koliades and Genetyllides, which we might render as 'your goddesses of love and childbirth' (Benner and Fobes: 'your Coliades or Genetyllides'); 3.41 (frag. 2), Cleistheneis and Drakontes, 'Cleistheneses and Dracos': Alciphron is relatively fond of the usage, and often in pairs.

The reason for discussing this phenomenon here is twofold: it is a similar device to the speaking name, and it is an instance of a play on names, like the preceding example, that is surely attributable to the author. This is not a case of inventing a name that is unattested, as each of these names is built into the body of the letter and integral to it, while they are not found in the heading. Thus there are no grounds for suspecting these names as additions by an editor. Along with the other kinds of plays on names, this often adds a comic note and perhaps a dismissive one—as the similar usage in English can do—creating an instant class of people to make generalisations about.[43]

In this example, of course, the names themselves in the singular are already *noms parlants*: Pheidon is 'Thrifty' and Gniphon 'Niggard', as rendered by Benner and Fobes; Pheidon is a commonly attested name, and a figure of New Comedy; Gniphon also belongs to this comic tradition, featuring as a moneylender in Lucian's *Timon* and elsewhere, as well as being attested a few times as a real name. These alone would count as examples of the type of the thrifty miser, but when turned into plurals come to represent the class of all people of that nature.

When the names to which this treatment is applied are not *noms parlants*, as in the other examples mentioned, Alciphron essentially makes speaking names for a 'type' out of ordinary names: 'Cleistheneses and Dracos' refers to the whole class of legislators; the fragmentary nature of 3.41 (*aka* frag. 2) makes it impossible to say what kind of generalisation is going to be made about this lawmaker's 'type', but it was of course going to be negative, as this kind of usage tends to be: the whole surviving text runs:

> Ἐξώλεις ἀπόλοιντο οἱ Κλεισθένεις καὶ οἱ Δράκοντες …
>
> May the Cleistheneses and the Dracos utterly perish …

---

the Parasite!). See Rosenmeyer [2001a: 267, 277–285], for the central idea of unsuccessful attempted escape by Alciphron's characters, and König [2007: 278–280] for names in this connection, discussing as examples also *Ep*. 1.3, 2.32, 3.5, 3.19, 3.25.

43 On this phenomenon in Aristophanes, cf. Kanavou [2011], who includes in her study of *noms parlants* "proper names that seem to refer to a class, like generalising plurals" (p. 1 n. 2), referring to Prato [2001: 256], "commune plurale generalizzante".

The other example, from 2.8.2,[44] has the rustic husband dismissing 'non-native', fancy city gods that his wife, who has acquired urban(e) pretensions, would like to worship now in preference to Pan and the Nymphs:

> … καινοὺς δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπεισάγουσα θεοὺς πρὸς πολλοῖς τοῖς προϋπάρχουσι. ποῦ γὰρ ἐγὼ κατ' ἀγρὸν ἱδρύσω Κωλιάδας ἢ Γενετυλλίδας;
>
> … and you are foisting new gods upon us in addition to the many that we already have. Why! Whereabouts on the farm am I to set up shrines to your Coliades or Genetyllides?

In this case, Alciphron's lumping together of the pluralised unfamiliar deities adds to the picture of the rustic who has little patience for them as a sign of his wife's newfound pretensions; his use of the pluralised names creates a 'type', in this case (from his perspective, for whom the small 'rural pantheon' of Pan and the Nymphs is enough) the type of the fancy city goddesses worshipped by fashionable ladies. Therefore, to convey the rustic's sentiments on the matter, we might paraphrase his question here along the following lines: 'Where on the farm am I to set up shrines to your fancy new women's deities?'

This use of names then tends to be dismissive by means of creating a class or type to refer to from a sometimes ordinary name neither invented nor chosen for its meanings, in exactly the same way that *noms parlants* can refer to a type or class of individual (e.g. rustic or parasite or more specifically miser); it is another, similar game with names that is played several times by Alciphron (and securely by him in the body of the letters), sometimes in combination with *noms parlants*, and sometimes with ordinary names.

2.3 *Speaking Names Not Otherwise Commented on in the Text*

Names found in both the header and the body of the letters are less common, but by no means infrequent, as we have seen; I have suggested above a reason for their very frequent appearance as a proportion of those letters that make a pair or trio, namely to try to keep such pairs or sets of letters together in any subsequent circulation and transmission. In such cases, there may be no particular additional reason for the name to appear in the body of the letter—that is, there may be no play on names (such as found in 3.25) beyond its existence as a label attached to the character of the correspondent, which would already be present in the title, in one scenario, or not needing to be repeated in the

44 See Drago, this volume, on this passage and its borrowings from Ar. *Clouds*.

short texts that we encounter in all of the letters in Books 1–3. Examples of this can be found in 2.24–25, a paired correspondence between Gemellos and Salaconis: Gemellos and Salaconis are both referred to by name in the body of the letters (2.24.1 and 2.25.2) as well as in the headings, but no further comments or allusions are made concerning the meanings of their names in this case. There is thus no functional point to the names being included in the letter body as well as the heading, unless to mark the two letters as clearly a pair, should they be detached from their headings.

As to the names themselves, they might be 'Twinlet' and 'Vantatrice', as Benner and Fobes render them, but there is no contextually relevant point in the former being called twin. Trapp labels both as speaking names,[45] each reflecting the perceptions of the other party: " 'Young Ball' writes to 'Snobbess'," explaining Latin *gemini* (of which Gemellus is a diminutive) as a translation of Greek δίδυμοι, 'balls'.[46] In this interpretation, both names, and in any other interpretation, one certainly (Salaconis from σαλάκων, snob), are the sort of names that reflect the nature or character of the correspondents as seen and played out in this particular scenario, rather than referring to a somewhat more fixed identity such as a profession or occupation, as in 3.25. Trapp is quite right to equate the names to the correspondents' perceptions of the other: his advances being rejected by Salaconis is what makes the name suitable for her, in Gemellos' opinion.

This kind of *nom parlant* is also frequent in Alciphron, and it is entirely suitable to his short vignettes and *ethopoeiae*. However, as a name for a central character in the long plot of a play or novel, rather than a cameo or walk-on part, such names would be quite restrictive supposing the character were to live up to them at all times. This would tend to preclude significant character development or changes to the fixed and onomastically determined nature[47]—

45 2003, ad loc. See also Rosenmeyer [2001a: 294] on this pair of letters.

46 I leave aside for a future exploration the use of Latin or bilingual wordplay in Alciphron's names and its implications for the author's *milieu*; David Konstan suggests to me that Salaconis may be meant to recall Latin *salax*, "salacious", in addition to the Greek significance discussed here.

47 A good comparison for a number of reasons is Gnathon in Longus' novel (also a correspondent in Alciphr. 2.32); he is defined in terms of, and by, his appetites (including sexual, as Gemellus would be), and his proneness to act based on these appetites alone (Long. 4.11.2: οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὢν ἢ γνάθος καὶ γαστὴρ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γαστέρα). His role in the novel is thus limited by his name far more than other characters that appear throughout longer stretches of the plot (Gnathon only appears from Long. 4.10–29). Longus draws attention to his name's sobriquet status with a parenthetical comment on its first appearance too in 4.10.1: ὁ δὲ Γνάθων (τουτὶ γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο) … Gnathon does not undergo any character

unless the characteristics embodied in the name are essential to their character and not subject to change. Where the name does not define the bearer's character *per se*, it expresses instead something central to their destiny.[48] But for Alciphron, this is part of the point: the characters can only be the types or display the behavioural characteristics that their names give them, and while they may often wish it were otherwise, as Polybios does in 3.25, they cannot escape their destinies.[49] This might be a problem in characters of a longer narrative or continuous text, but the quick changing from one situation and set of characters to another, with no space or need for characters to change or develop, fits the use of such speaking names well. Thus in Alciphron we see a combination of two factors in his frequent use of speaking names: of course he is aligned with the comic rather than the tragic tradition, so that names "exploited for a single significant element ... which invites a pun or a momentary joke"[50] are potentially appropriate for any and every character whether in a cameo role as a passing joke or a central figure. In addition, the epistolary genre (rather than an extended narrative form) is such that its main characters are only present for a moment, so that their names can combine both kinds of use of speaking

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development, but even he is redeemed for his appetitive behaviour through an uncharacteristically unappetitive act (4.29)—something Alciphron's characters seldom have time for in their brief moments in the spotlight. Thus there is no need with Alciphron, as there is with Aristophanes, to debate the question of 'stereotype characters' with no development *vs*. inconsistent and changeable characters whose names thus "reflect them only at particular moments ... in the play," cf. Kanavou [2011: 17–18, with nn. 68–69].

48 Names of central characters in tragedy may express their misfortunes: Ajax αἰαῖ, αἰάζειν, Pentheus πένθος, see Kanavou [2011: 3 n. 6]; on comedy's central characters, Kanavou [2011] *passim* (discussion of each play's central name in the separate chapters on each play), and 11–13 in general. Kanavou [2015] finds that the flexibility of poetic etymology allows different meanings to be attached to the same name at different moments in longer narratives, specifically Homer.

49 See also Drago, in this volume, on Hyle and Nomios (2.22), names that link their bearers inextricably with the countryside and thus constitute "both a destiny and at the same time a condemnation." König [2007: 279–280] suggests that the name Autokletos in 3.19 (see above, n. 28) "perhaps suggests pretensions to independence, if we take it to mean 'self-called', as if this is a speaker who claims to have control over his own self-definition, in contrast with [Skordosphrantes] ... [This] ... seems to be a rare example for Alciphron of epistolary naming implying the potential for empowerment rather than humiliation." König is right to add, however, that Autokletos' "parasitical nature ... reveals itself in the end."

50 Kanavou [2011: 2–3]; in any kind of narrative, serious as well as comic, "usually in the case of main heroes," significant names can express "the essence of a person" (see previous n.), while of course punning and otherise speaking names are not habitually used in serious narratives for every character or for minor characters with walk-on parts.

names, including the kind of punning play for a passing joke typically reserved for a peripheral comic character.[51]

To return to the names themselves in 2.24–25: apart from the potentially appetitive sexual nature and unwanted advances connoted by Gemellos, it is, of course a Latin word, attested as a real Greek name several times, albeit only in the Imperial period.[52] It is perhaps no coincidence that a Roman name is chosen for this character, who is the master of the 'ungrateful' Salaconis (Τί ταῦτα, ὦ Σαλακωνίς, ὑπερηφανεῖς τάλαινα τὸν δεσπότην; … ἐγώ σοι τὸν ἐραστὴν δείξω δεσπότην …, 2.24.1–2). The significance of this *nom parlant* may be twofold, then: it is not one of the typical letters of rustics, in which both correspondents are equally lowly, but a letter from a master, perhaps a Roman farm-owner, to one of those rustic slaves or servants who works on his farm, thus reinforcing the usual lowly social position of most of Alciphron's correspondents and other characters even more strongly in this case by juxtaposition with a rare character of higher status. Salaconis' powerlessness over her own destiny, as a slave—her 'lover' being her master, as he says, contains a thinly-veiled threat of being forced if she does not give in willingly—is made clear by her desperate determination to die (2.25.2), which is the only thing that allows her to speak ἀφανδόν, openly, πάντα γάρ μου περιαιρεῖ φόβον ἡ πρὸς τὸ τελευτᾶν ὁρμή: "for my eager desire to die divests me of all my fear." Since her reply, 2.25, is the second of a pair, we can only guess whether this is an empty threat or whether she has in fact committed suicide by the time we read this,[53] and thus regained power over her own life in the only way open to her, succeeding in having the last word at the same time. It is hardly a triumphant reversal of the almost always disadvantaged and powerless situation of Alciphron's characters when faced with the more privileged. If, however, we *do* take her threat seriously and read this as a 'genuine' suicide note, and bearing in mind that suicide is a generically tragic act typical of female characters, this letter constitutes a surprise and a sharp change of tone and generic affiliation to a more serious situation and outcome than was perhaps envisaged by the reader of the comic 2.24, with no possibility of finding out whether it was a bluff.[54] The potential for surprise is all

51 Cf. Kanavou [2011: 13–14] on minor figures in Aristophanes: they "receive names which, when significant, are usually meant as momentary jokes."

52 See e.g. *LGPN* II s.v. (Attica) where it is first attested in 2nd–3rd centuries AD (three times in total), or IIIA, where two more Imperial instances are found.

53 Trapp 2003 ad loc.: "bluff or earnest?" Patricia Rosenmeyer suggests to me we should take it less seriously, comparing Simaetha's threats to kill her lover in Theoc. *Id.* 2.

54 Compare my discussion of changing of generic affiliation and tone in Alciphr. 1.11–12, and 1.17–19, Hodkinson [2007, especially 298–300]; *Ep.*1.11 also ends with an unresolved threat of suicide.

the greater given the scarcity of corresponding pairs of letters compared with stand-alone letters in Alciphron, so that no reply at all, let alone this kind of reply, is expected by the reader. Thus, *Ep.* 2.25 might undercut some of the rest of the book's elite enjoyment of the apparently 'comic' mocking of low characters by taking a tragic turn, and by allowing one of the low characters to have the last word against and to abuse, not someone of their own status, but someone closer to the readers' status.

A final observation needs to be made about the name Salaconis. It is one of those that is both as securely as any of the correspondents' names the creation of the author (since it is in the body of the text), and also unattested anywhere. The name—Reiske's correction—is surely right, for the reasons given above: it fits her character as she is viewed by Gemellos; the MSS' readings of Salamonis or Salmonis are equally unattested, and would have no such point here.[55] Thus in Salaconis, we have one of the least like an attested, real Greek name among all the names in Alciphron, but at the same time one of the names more securely written by Alciphron. This reinforces the idea that Alciphron was amenable to pure invention in his names, as well as to selection of real names to fit the situation or character of his correspondents, and moreover, that he is willing to include these purely fictional names in the body of the letter, and not just the heading. He could well have done the same with those names found in the headings too, then.

3 Conclusions

In conclusion, in the first place it is clear that there is far more work to be done on names in general and speaking names in Alciphron in particular, both of the sort undertaken by Casevitz and in my first section above, and of the interpretative kind for which a thorough study is a pre-requisite, and to which I have offered a small contribution in the second section. I have argued against

55 Because many of Alciphron's unattested names are variations on common or at least attested names, in every case I have checked for similar names: in this instance, nothing very similar is attested for Salaconis (the closest being a Salacos in *LGPN* I, but this would lose the wordplay with *salakōn* and its cognates rightly observed by Trapp); and while there are attestations for Salmon and Salamon from the imperial period onwards, these are Greek transliterations of the Hebrew, masculine name, which could have no place here as a name for Salaconis, even in a feminine Greek version *'Salamonis'. It is far more likely that a scribe corrected the unknown name Salaconis, derived from the relatively uncommon σαλάκων, to something more familiar-looking (see also Alciphron's use of σαλακωνία, 4.18.4).

Ureña Bracero's hypothesis that Alciphron's titular names are inventions of a later editor: to my mind the onus rests with those who would prove that any of Alciphron's names do not originate with the author and to find evidence in the MS tradition for this in each individual case, rather than expecting evidence to prove that they *are* Alciphron's. As we have seen, there is no reason for the names themselves not to have been invented, or in most cases, adopted or adapted from real or literary names, by someone writing in Alciphron's likely era. The likelihood of letters being separated and re-ordered as they are circulated after first publication is a plausible explanation for many correspondences within the collection containing correspondents' names in their bodies where other letters more often only contain them in their titles. If Alciphron gave those characters those kinds of names, it is not at all unlikely that he gave them to other characters also.[56] Then, the many kinds of games Alciphron likes to play with names and naming, and the many instances of each of them, are evident in the body of several of the letters and not only in their titles: where the names are present both in the body and the title, this would seem more likely to suggest the names' originating with the author than with a later editor not only adding titles with names but also inserting those names into the letters themselves. Equally importantly, they show that Alciphron's project (in Books 1–3) is fundamentally concerned with names and naming, so that it would be odd for him not to give names to his other characters, perhaps using names in his other letters' titles in some of the significant, playful, or allusive ways that he uses them in the bodies of certain letters.

One thing to emerge from the study of Alciphron's various uses of names is its clear debt to the comic tradition (both Old and New Comedy), but equally the fact that this work is not a slavish imitation of comic genres in its uses of names (just as in other respects). The great variety in Alciphron's treatment of names both encompasses several ways in which speaking names and type names are used in comedy, and adds to that repertoire of techniques, borrowing from other genres such as pastoral, but also adding his own inventions. In some ways, Alciphron's names operate as a substitute for the function of masks in comedy: just as a comic character's type and role may to some extent be derived from her/his costume, especially the mask, on their first appearance on stage, in a non-visual medium names can achieve the same effect. This may lend an important function to the names of correspondents, even when they do not appear in the body of the letters after that titular appearance. But more

56 The complete absence of correspondences in Book 3 would then go some way towards explaining the fact that there are far fewer correspondents' names in the letter bodies.

importantly still, Alciphron's fascination with the roles that his correspondents take on, including the metaliterary references to them, sometimes precisely as theatrical roles, and the characters' frequent desire to change roles, are demonstrated and enriched through his use of names. Names that are changed to reflect the type, role or status of the characters are only the most obvious signposts to show us how to interpret all of Alciphron's character names, as the literary equivalent of the mask: both as determiner of their role in the drama, for the 'audience' adept at the comic and other literary conventions, and the determiner of their fate in 'real life' within the fiction, which is seen to be both contingent upon their names and yet at the same time somehow inescapable, even when a name-change attempts to subvert their destiny.

In addition to possibly augmenting the examples of the uses of names discussed in my second section, an expanded study of Alciphron's names would also include further categories: most obviously, the significance of names of correspondents *only* found in titles should be discussed further, although this has been done to some extent in other scholarship discussing Alciphron's naming. I have focused on names that are either exclusively or also found in the letter body in order to concentrate on those more securely attributable to Alciphron. Many of the names found only in the title will be seen to conform to some of the same patterns of name use, but there are possibly more kinds of name use to be found. Names of characters other than the correspondents tend far more frequently to be those of known historical persons or literary figures, but wordplay and other literary games with such names, when found, also need to be investigated further. The possibility of bilingual wordplay in character names should also be considered. Finally, perhaps the most important omission from this study, the practices of naming *hetairai* and other correspondents and characters in Book 4 need to be included in the scope of this investigation.[57] Even though they are *prima facie* very different, leading to a picture of greater unity of Books 1–3 as a work than is produced when Book 4 is added (as do several other methods of analysing and interpreting Alciphron), it is necessary to see what overlap there is between Book 4 and the others. The names of non-correspondents in Books 1–3, drawn as they frequently are either from history or from the comic tradition of using recognisable types, are closer to many of the names used in Book 4 for correspondents as well as for other characters, so that there is at first sight both a great similarity of technique and a stark difference in its application in Book 4.

57 See König [2007: 270], who observes that through their historical names, many of [the characters in Book 4], "unlike the marginal characters of Books 1–3, have been saved from oblivion," as they are more than just type characters.

CHAPTER 11

Laus vitae rusticae: Conventionality, Imitation, Variation in the *Letters* of Alciphron

Anna Tiziana Drago

1 The Rural World in Alciphron*

Beyond all doubt, Alciphron's epistolographic collection, divided into letters of fishermen, farmers, parasites and courtesans (whatever their original order or subdivision)[1] applies the rhetorical mechanism of *synkrisis*, that is, of a rhetorically and literarily productive comparison between different modes of life starting from its compositional framework: work at sea and work on dry land, vs. the city cosmos, inhabited by parasites and courtesans. The social universe represented in the epistolographic collection successfully shows a two-part model, albeit through the deforming perspective of literary fiction: on the one hand, the hard work of fishermen and farmers (we could call this the productive world), on the other, conviviality, the banquet, the symposium in which pleasure is discovered, the unproductive existence of parasites and courtesans. The categories of fishermen and farmers, no less complementary themselves, adopt an attitude that is a mixture of rejection and attraction with regard to the urban environment: the city is experienced as a place of exploitation, since owners (as well as moneylenders) live there, and as a centre of otherness and non-involvement (this marginality is primarily topographical, since the two categories appear to be pertinent to two areas, the coast, *paralia*, and the agricultural fringe, *eschatia*, which separate them from the city and, at the same time, set them against each other).[2]

* I am very grateful to my dear friend Owen Hodkinson (whose valuable suggestions contributed greatly to this paper) for the careful review of the English translation.

1 On the transmission, wich is rather complicated, see Schmitz [2004: 88]; on the structure of Alciphron's *Letters*, vd. Marquis and Morrison, in this volume.

2 See Longo [1985, esp. 9–11]. On the letters of fishermen, farmers and parasites as forming a coherent, interconnected work (there are no similar connections between the letters of courtesans and the other books) and on the debate over the 'unity' of this collection see Schmitz [2004: 88].

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In this chapter I concentrate on the representation of the rural world in Alciphron, and in particular on the second book of Alciphron's corpus, the *Letters of Farmers*, insofar as they throw light on the compositional mechanism underlying the collection as a whole: a deliberately conventional and artificial use of literary memory combined with an expert application of the rhetorical exercise of *ethopoeia*.

2 The Bucolic Tradition in Alciphron: *locus amoenus* and *durus labor*

The first point to be made is that Alciphron's decision to represent 'marginal' and simple social figures in literature (especially fishermen and farmers), immersed in the daily life of a humble present, was not, in itself, a novelty. Prior to Alciphron, Theocritus had already attempted, for the first time, to make literature take on a world in which it had not been involved before: that of humble people, often shepherds, less often—at least in the Theocritean corpus as it survives—the humble living in the city, sometimes farmers (for example, in *Idyll* 10 where the two protagonists are engaged in reaping). Prior to Theocritus, literature had remained faithful to the age-old tradition in which any composition (especially poetic) that was not mime or comedy, or to some extent iambus too, had to speak of myths (sometimes local and minor, new or semi-new in literary form, but in any case myths), or of a mythicised reality (for example, Hediod's style of representing bucolic daily life). In Theocritus we can see a limitation of the subject matter to human protagonists (or at most to humanised gods reinterpreted in a naturalistic manner, such as Heracles, Helen, the Dioscuri and the central figures of the small self-reflective Ptolemaic pantheon). This is not only, as can clearly be seen, an episodic intrusion of the past, of the specific daily existence of human beings within the serious and remote atmosphere of mythological narration (as is typical of members of the Alexandrian School), but something more: namely, the presentation of the everyday dimension of life—and of the present—as literary.[3]

Although a full examination of the topic remains to be undertaken, the influence of the bucolic tradition in Alciphron and, especially, the literary legacy of Theocritus (to whom there are numerous unmistakable hommages in Book 2), play an all-important role in the conception of the letters of farmers thanks to a number of aspects, as I will attempt to demonstrate.

3 See Fantuzzi [1993: 178–179] and in Fantuzzi-Hunter [2004, esp. 139–140]; Vox [1997: 25–26].

Two different representations of the rural world are compared in the literary tradition.[4] On the one hand, there is the highlighting of the gentleness of the rural world and, thus, primitivistic idealisation—as in a golden age—where the land satisfies all human needs; and generally it is the land's 'natural' productivity that sanctions the intense sympathetic harmony with farmers (clearly, the archetypal model at work for this side of the tradition is clearly the *locus amoenus*, where the land distributes its products almost spontaneously).[5] Another trend, Hesiodic in nature, can be found alongside this depiction of the rural world focused on the farmer's 'pleasant idleness' which emphasises instead the need for *durus labor*; this exertion is taken on and dealt with through acceptance, with a sense of limitation which is an awareness of one's own human weakness rather than personal strength: it is a gentle and comforting tolerance, and is always rewarded by the land's fair productivity.[6] The description of the countryside, even when it is detailed and up close, is a conventional representation (or stylisation) that transcends literariness in both these literary lineages, which have been examined in depth by Kier in his classic work *De laudibus vitae rusticae*.[7]

4 I re-examine here some observations already made in Drago [2012a: 317–328].

5 As regards the typically imaginary motif of αὐτόματος βίος in which normally inanimate utensils and objects acquire their own life and autonomous movements in order to encourage the enjoyment and complete satisfaction of human beings, I refer to Pellegrino [2000: 23–25], with bibliography. The motif frequently intertwines with the gastronomic motif; for example, it is no coincidence that rivers of wine, combined with waves of milk and honey flow abundantly through the valleys and pinpoint the miracles of Dionysus in Euripides' *Bacchae* (141–143 and 706–711) and in Philostratus' *Imagines* (1.14.3, p. 30 Benndorf-Schenkl and 1.18.1, p. 36 Benndorf-Schenkl). Similarly, Teleclides in the *Amphictiones* (frag. 1, 4 K.-A.) imagines a mythical scene embellished by rivers flowing with wine (see Pellegrino [2000: 78]), whereas the abundant stream of wine in Lucian characterises locations beyond the Pillars of Hercules (*VH* 1.7), the Isle of the Blessed (*VH* 2.13) and the opulence of the days of Cronus (*Sat.* 7).

6 As regards Latin literature, for example, Kier [1933: 45–46] notes that, unlike the Hesiodic *laudes* (such as those of Cato, Varro and Columella), "cum Horatius, Martialis, Plinius Secundus aliique vitam rusticam atque otiosam (i.e. süßes Nichtstun) laudarent, Vergilius in georgicis et Tibullus in el. i, 1 summis laudis extulerunt vitam rusticam, quae haberet plus emolumentorum, minus sollicitudinum". Recent studies have shown, in particular, the idealisation of work in the praises of agricultural life found in the final section of the second book of Virgil's *Georgics* where "the role of work is in some way balanced, or rewarded, by the spontaneous generosity of nature" (Barchiesi [1982: 53]; see also Clay [1976: 234–235]). On the difference between imperial Greek literature and earlier Greek literature on the one hand, and Latin literature of the Empire on the other see Grilli [1953: 214 n. 3].

7 See *infra* n. 6. On this topic, the reflections of Lovejoy-Boas [1935] remain fundamental.

As regards this tradition, the Theocritean bucolics, as already noted, represented an all-important turning point, for which a mythical rural world is no longer at the centre of the idylls, but rather extremely human farmers and shepherds—shown, however, not in their daily activities, but in their leisurely singing (moreover, in Alciphron 2.9, the stylised description of a pastoral *locus amoenus* enlivened by the melody of the σύριγξ is evidently a specific hommage to Theocritean bucolics);[8] on their promotion to literary status, the characteristic feature of singing within a bucolic landscape is thus bestowed on elements of society previously excluded from literature. As has already been noted by leading figures in the field, the exclusive style of the so-called Theocritean 'realism' (this is the well-known critical formula of "agrarian reality and literary stylisation")[9] and the most conspicuous difference from the description of the landscape and pastoral life found later on in the poems of Theocritus' imitators contained in the Theocritean corpus and in Virgils' *Eclogues*, is the selection of this characteristic singing which, in any case, does not betray the reality of the pastoral world but extracts a partial, privileged perspective from it. This is an idealised or imprecise description because it is completely detached from the actual reality of that world.[10] The results of this rural tradition are also come to light within other, non-poetic, literary forms produced in the Second Sophistic, from the dialogues of Lucian to epistles of farmers by Aelian and Alciphron, to Longus' pastoral novel.[11]

I have already discussed the *otium* of Aelian's farmers elsewhere:[12] to put it extremely briefly, it is a space marked out by sophisticated intertextual strategies in which the bucolic motif demonstrates its absorption of truly erotic poisons.[13] The supposed cases of Aelian's literary memory of Alciphron's writing (according to the commonly accepted chronology of the two epistolographers) pointed out by Reich's traditional study[14] do not necessarily indicate, in

8 See Rosenmeyer [2001a: 279] for this "suggestively Theocritean pastoral moment".

9 See Serrao [1975: 73–109]; Serrao [1977: 181–190].

10 See Vox [1997: 26].

11 On the characteristic strategy of pastoral representations of the countryside and specific intertextuality with pastoral poetry as well as New Comedy see Hodkinson [2012: 41–53], and Hodkinson [2009: 142–152] on Imperial Greek literary representations of the countryside as a context for Alciphron. On continuity and change in Greek bucolic between Theocritus and Virgil see Reed [2006: 209–234]. On pastoral in Byzantium see Burton [2006: 549–579].

12 See Drago [2012b, 2013a, 2013b, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2016].

13 On Aelian's programme (the choice of style and form, literary qualities and major themes in the *Epistles*) see Hodkinson [2013: 257–310], with bibliography.

14 See Reich [1894].

my opinion, direct imitation: rather, they can be explained by the authors' mutual acceptance of a conventional repertoire of clichés.[15]

The protagonists in Alciphron's farmer letters act against the backdrop of a rural landscape, which is economically and rapidly sketched using conventional details, engaging in lightweight, and mostly graceful, activities: playing the σύριγξ in the boiling midday heat in the shade of a pine tree (2.9), enjoying a plentiful feast and an even more plentiful drinking session on the occasion of family celebrations (a recurrent motif: 2.15, 16 and 30), listening to the boasting of a braggart soldier (2.34), and playing erotic games with a female flute player (2.14). Life in the fields is clearly filled with minor and major difficulties in contrast to the indifferent quiet of nature, which stretches out in the scorching sun or in frosty, abundant snowfalls, but there is nothing that deserves to be described in detail in such a close-up manner. A page of bald prose introduces us to the climate of mute desolation that has affected a family of farmers after a hailstorm (2.3). Elsewhere, there are descriptions of clumps of earth scorched by the drought, of animals sacrificed to Zeus Pluvius (2.33), of harsh winters and hunting for birds with mistletoe (2.27), and of irrigation canals in the fields bursting their banks after torrential rains (2.10). Just as Theocritus had already done, Alciphron makes a selection in his representation of landscapes: the truly wild landscape, especially that of the mountains and their potentially dangerous animals, plays a minimal role in Alciphron's corpus, which is characterised by a radical separation between the wild world and the world inhabited by men and domestic animals. Also, a similarly disturbing significance is attributed to the marine environment: in Alciphron, the mountain and the sea, unsettling boundaries of the Theocritean landscape, represent the alternative to the ἁσυχία that normally characterises the pastoral habitat,[16] disturbed solely by the natural sequence of the seasons, or, as we shall see, by the unwarranted intrusion of the urban world's concerns. Primitivistic escapism into nature, an attitude firmly embedded in Greek culture (suffice it to recall Plato's *Phaedrus*, 230b–d, which features a *locus amoenus* unforgettable for its size and the density of its sentimental effects), becomes the cliché of a firmly consolidated literary tradition, to which the frequent passing allusions in the letters linking together peace, farmer's *pietas* and flourishing agriculture easily lead. Several aspects of the rural world in Alciphron have been studied by

15 The understanding of Alciphron's relationship with comedy is different ways depending on whether the mediation of a mutual comic source drawn on independently by Alciphron and Aelian is accepted or rejected: see Drago [2013a: 71–86], with bibliography.

16 Fantuzzi [1983: 189–208 n. 17].

scholars. Rosenmeyer's contribution is particularly valuable for pointing out the tension between an idealised world and an intrusive 'reality' in which "the farmers [are] trying hard to sustain the idea of a rustic paradise, but admitting reluctantly the fallibility of their construct".[17] This paper attempts to take this scholar's argument one step further. I propose considering the influence of the rhetorical exercises: Alciphron delights in temporary role switches and constantly uses cross-references to the types in his own collection (farmers and fishermen trying out a new role: pirate, politician, urban playboy). This is very much the game of *ethopoeia*. I then highlight (and give several examples of) the interference between *ethopoeia* and comic memory in the rustic epistles.[18]

3 The Rhetorical Exercises: προγυμνάσματα and Ethopoeia

From the surviving προγυμνάσματα written in Greek, we know that this was the focus of numerous rhetorical exercises: I am thinking above all of the *Encomium of farming* (VIII 267 Foerster, esp. 5–7) and the *Comparison of farming with seafaring* (VIII 351 Foerster) by Libanius.[19] The concept of farming as a foundational element of human civilisation, as a healthy and peaceful lifestyle based on the criteria of modesty of customs and religious *pietas* is dealt with in these writings, in contrast to the existence of seafaring folk which is inspired by avarice and devoted to danger.[20] These concepts frequently recur, not only in literature in which the land-sea polarity is a common theme,[21]

17 Rosenmeyer [2001a: 279].

18 On the combination of *ethopoeia* and other progymnasmatic forms see Gallé Cejudo in this volume.

19 The motif of seafaring and farming subsequently reappears in the σύγκρισις by the Pseudo-Nicholas of Myra (the σύγκρισις is included in the section of Προγυμνάσματα by Nicholas in the edition of *Rhetores Graeci* by C. Walz [1832: *Rhet.* I 365–366], but not in Felten's edition of Nicholas of Myra [1913], or the edition by L. Spengel [1853–1856]) and in *Oration* 30 of Themistius; see Ureña Bracero [2013: 194–195].

20 See Cairns [1975: 79–91] on these two exercises and the presence of the question in Latin literature, from Horace to Tibullus. It is well-known that the Romans considered shipbuilding and sea crossings to be activities worthy of men described as *truces* and *impii* (as Horace says in *C.* 1.3.9–12 and 23–24) or, in any case, associated the motif of sailing with the concept of avarice (Horace, *C.* 1.1.11–18, 3.1.25–28, 3.24.35–41) and even contrasted the *inventor* of the ship to the simple life of the *Saturnia regna* (Tib. 1.3.35–40; Ov., *Am.* 3.8.35–44 and *Met.* 1.94–96). Civilisation connected to farming was a motif which was also partially reformulated, as can be seen in the *Oeconomicus* of Xenophon (5.17), in which farming is defined as "the mother and nurturer of other arts".

21 The question was probably present from the mimes of Sophron onwards (in this connec-

but also in theoretical treatises on *ethopoeia* and in the practice of rhetorical exercises, including in Alciphron's era. There are numerous examples: an exercise on *What a farmer would say when first seeing a ship* (*Prog.* 9, *Rhet.* VI 20–22 Rabe) is mentioned among the 'ethical' *ethopoeiai* (those in which *ethos* is predominant) in the *Progymnasmata* of Pseudo-Hermogenes, the first of five treatises comprising the rhetorical corpus of Hermogenes, datable to the 3rd century AD and recalled in the *Commentary on Aphthonius's Progymnasmata* by Johannes of Sardis (*Rhet.* XV 207 Rabe) and, in the Latin Middle Ages, in the version by Priscian (45.7–46, 10 Passalacqua). Among the titles of exercises in the later rhetorical tradition we can also find *What someone born inland might say on seeing the sea for the first time* (Aphth., *Prog.* 11 = *Rhet.* X 35 Rabe) and, in the 11th century, Johannes Doxapatres (Rhet. II 499, 500, 502 Walz) and the anonymous *Epitome of Aphthonius's Progymnasmata* (*Rhet.* I 133 Walz).

Similarly, the inconvenience of urban-military civilisation, a traditional feature of *laudes vitae rusticae*,[22] appears to be completely conventional in Alciphron: 2.13 is addressed by Phyllis to her son, who has the speaking name of a

tion see the large number of passages collected by West [1978: 313–314], besides the already mentioned *The fisherman* [*criticises?*] *the farmer* or *The fisherman to the farmer*: frag. 42–44 K.-A.; see also *Tuna-fishing*: frag. 45–48 K.-A.) and can be found in Greek comedy (such as the *Fishermen* by Menander, the model of Plautus' *Rudens* and possibly of Diphilus) and elsewhere in the literary tradition, especially the Theocritean corpus (see, for example *Idyll* 21). The figure of the fisherman, which recurs with particular expressiveness in Books 6 and 7 of the *Palatine Anthology*, especially in the epigrams of Leonidas of Tarentum (e.g. *AP* 7.295 = *HE* 2074–2083), takes on a more central role in Moschus, who writes a *Streitgedicht*, a 'poem of comparison' (as often found in bucolic literature) on the question of the preferable setting, which hinged on the contrast between two settings (frag. 1 Gow). The figure of the fisherman also plays a more central role in the Second Sophistic and, especially, in the works of an epistolographer like Alciphron, who represents the world of Attic fishermen of the 4th century BC in his twenty two *Letters of Fishermen* (see Lesky [1947: 273–276]; Gallé Cejudo [2003: 111–183] has recently focused on the motif, not unknown to Aristaenetus).

22 The farmer/soldier comparison, an important part of the rustic life/war polarity (see Totaro [2000: 113]), seems to be especially active in *laudes vitae rusticae* known to us as belonging to the Latin environment: this is the case of *epode* 2 by Horace and Tibullus' elegy (see in detail, Cairns [1975: 81]). Its absence from Libanius compared with the Augustan poets is attributed by Cairns to the different social context: "So, although Libanius lacks this topos, the coincidence between Horace and Tibullus suggests that it was part of the *progymnasmata* in the late first century B.C. Libanius' omission is probably a reflection of a social difference between his Greek fourth century A.D. audience and the Augustan Roman audience of Horace and Tibullus: for the latter audience, personal military service was a real possibility; in Libanius' day soldiers were professional or mercenary".

soldier in comedy, Thrasonides, and is attracted by the dangers of military life and forgetful of placid rural tranquillity; 2.34 is written by Pratinus to Megaloteles and voices intolerance for the bragging of an ἀλαζών soldier. But, generally speaking, the city is the farmer's enemy, even more so than it is the fisherman's, who, in any case, is more used to tackling the dangers of the outside world, accustomed as he is to the dynamism of trading and sentimental instability. It is sufficient to recall in this connection some προγυμνάσματα dealing with this question (particularly the σύγκρισις ἀγροῦ καὶ πόλεως, the *Comparison of city and country*, by Libanius, VIII 353 Foerster): on the one hand, history (the city, trade, business, entertainment, but also the dangers that come with them), on the other, its denial, which in Virgil will become the sentimental alternative to city life (the country as a timeless world without history, or better put a world sheltered from both the charm and threats it encompasses). History intrudes on occasions (in the form of the hidden dangers of eros, dishonesty, or military life), only for the country to be snatched immediately from the logic of daily life and promptly re-submerged in the embrace of an always static time.[23]

For farmers, the urban space is the fantastic location of the desire for the unknown, as is the case in epistle 28 for the young man who "has never visited Athens and does not even know what the thing called a city means," and who lives in expectation of, and yearning for, this experience. Elsewhere, in epistle 37, it is the already urbanised son who describes all the city's marvels to his uninformed mother, inviting her to follow his example because "living one's own life without ever having experienced the city" is a 'wild' and 'uncivilised' attitude. Often, the city is the place of erotic temptation where the sphere of production comes into direct contact with—and sometimes ends up interfering with—the other sphere, that of convivial and erotic consumption, where parasites and courtesans are the actors: this is the case in 2.17 and 22, where the city with its dangerous temptations (respectively a juggler and the 'red light' districts of Skyros and Keramikos) threatens to lead astray the thoughts and intentions of inexperienced country folk.

Those epistles which, on a naïve reading, would seem to present a quiet, bucolic, charming scene, highlight, with New Comedy-style finesse, the behaviour and the speeches of opposing exemplary type characters, with different vision of life, and their own excesses and defects: the 'farmers' old or young, the avid and the seasoned *hetaira*, the submissive, loyal wife, the braggart soldier. Therefore, the protagonists of these letters are 'characters' (ἤθη):

23 It has also been noted that the 'still' time of the country is qualitative, radically different from the quantitative time (never completed) of the city: see Conte [1984: 42 n. 44].

the epistolographer virtually makes a Peripatetic (Theophrastean) observation, beginning by presenting unitary types followed by combinations of different elements: for example, there is the young farmer attracted by the military or seafaring life, or the 'country lad' who forgets his duties and tries to transform himself into a highly urbanised, annoying and unbearable flatterer. *Synkrisis*, the question of τίς ἄριστος βίος, of the choice of the best form of life, is a determinant factor for how the letters are structured.[24] This is why the application of the rhetorical exercise of *ethopoeia* is especially evident, in the sense of a discourse that shows the *ethos* of a specific character, while other types of *progymnasmata* intertwine and overlap from time to time. Alciphron, in perfect Sophistic style, succeeds in combining various types of *progymnasmata* with *ethopoeia*, such as *ekphrasis*. For example, in epistle 34, we find the *ethopoeia* of a farmer who delivers a highly-detailed description of the behaviour, and indirectly, even of the speech of an anonymous *miles gloriosus*. The farmer's letter thus almost contains an *ekphrasis* of the soldier (and, in part, an indirect *ethopoeia*), including the implicit debate resulting from the opposing conditions of the letter writer's as compared with those of the soldier: this is also a way to make clear connections and comparisons, not only among different *ethe*, but also among the respective literary genres referred to by each *ethos*, contiguous, yet separate, such as the farmer genre upon which the sender's *ethos* depends on, and the comic genre from which the boasting soldier's *ethos* originates.[25] In the rhetorical writings I have examined, moreover, the fact that the farmer's character is the most frequently recurring, along with the soldier and sailor, stands out: this further demonstrates the contiguity between the works of Alciphron and the practices of rhetorical apprenticeship. In the *Progymnasmata* by Aelius Theon, the oldest surviving *Progymnasmata* (most likely datable to the first half of the 1th century AD),[26] the farmer, alongside the soldier, features as an especially suitable character-type for epistolary discourse (*Prog*. 8 = *Rhet*. II 116 Spengel = 71 Patillon). The figure of the farmer always features in the various definitions of *ethopoeia* in the comments and Byzantine epitomes of Aphthonius:[27] in the *Commentary on Progymnasmata* by Johannes of Sardis (*Rhet*. XV 196 Rabe) who, after including the soldier and farmer among

24 Gallé Cejudo [2003: 111–183] examined the motif.

25 See Vox [2013: 217].

26 There is great variety in the proposed dates: see Heath [2002–2003: 129–160], who argues for the 5th century date for Theon. On this question see Patillon [1997: VIII].

27 These are works whose identification and dating are disputed, in which excerpts from the *Progymnasmata* by Aelius Theon and from the treatise *On figures* by Alexander the rhetorician (2nd century AD), as well as a trace of the heterodox doctrines, excluded from Aphthonian tradition, can be recognised: see Ventrella [2005: 185].

the subjects of *ethopoeia*, mentions among the arguments of *prosopoeia* '*What a farmer would say to his wife upon leaving*' (*Rhet.* XV 204 Rabe), or '*What a farmer would say looking at the abundant harvest*' (*Rhet.* XV 205 Rabe) and '*What a farmer would say if his son devoted himself to philosophy*' (*Rhet.* XV 207 Rabe). The latter is a question that seems to correspond perfectly to that of epistle 11, which is a letter from a farmer to his son, who has taken a fancy to the austere life of a philosopher;[28] the question is later dealt with in the 11th century by the Aphthonian commentaries, Johannes Doxapatres (*Rhet.* II 500 Walz) and in the anonymous Scholia on Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata* (*Rhet.* II 644 Walz).

4 The Interference between Ethopoeia and Comic Memory

Thus in Alciphon's letters of farmers, country life of which only a few, extremely subtle aspects can be found (such as the care of animals or the overflowing of irrigation canals), serves exclusively as a psychological backdrop for the characters' actions. The sophisticated intertextual strategies related in particular to the 'grammar' of the comic tradition, which the epistolographer has mastered, are grafted onto this foundation. On the other hand, it can be considered that, outside the bucolic tradition, the focus on the urban environment and on its peripheral rural or marine environment is to be found in comedy, especially New Comedy (Menander, Diphilus and Philemon).

But first, the point should be made that the epistolographer's interest is not in reproducing the events of comedy in miniature, but in working on the characters' personalities in order to focus on the most significant traits that come to light from the writings to which he alludes. The reader is required to play an active role in this work of transposition and adaptation, not only by judging the operation's success, but also because personalities and situations acquire substance, and can be enjoyed only by comparison with the hypotext's watermarking, witnessed by the epistolographer's variations of the reference model; or better put his models, since Second Sophistic writers like to mix allusions, both using other writings of the same author and varying the scenes referred to, in a *contaminatio* that introduces new perspectives compared with the original writings. And all of this is achieved through only a few, extremely allusive hints, in order to comply with the limits set by the new literary genre,

28 On the significance of the revival of this theme, see Vox [2013b: 215 n. 26]: "Anziché pensare all' influenza della scuola retorica su Alcifrone, si potrà ipotizzare all'opposto che Giovanni di Sardi e Giovanni Doxopatre in realtà avessero presente proprio Alciphr. 2.11".

especially brevity.[29] Comprehension of this genetic mechanism allows us to tackle the *vexata quaestio* of Alciphron's relations with comic writings in a new light: academic interest has focused mainly on the attempts to recover fragments and possible plots of comedies, overlooking both the manner and the purposes of the re-adaptation. In particular, Theodor Kock undertook the sterile exercise of mining comic fragments from the letters, with a wasted virtuosity that was brilliantly taken apart by Nauck; Rudolf Kassel and Colin Austin finally did justice to this effort in their masterly edition of *Poetae Comici Graeci*.[30]

As regards the relationship of the epistles to comedy and the *ethos* of the characters represented, Konstantakos in his study of the figure of the ἄγροικος in comedy[31] convincingly argued that Alciphron's farmer characters are the heirs of the ἄγροικοι who were the protagonists of homonymous comedies by Anaxandrides and Antiphanes; specifically, the dinner-parties they attend are "a ludicrous parody of what a refined, elegant symposium should look like … and instead of civilised and fine entertainment, they amuse themselves by dancing the indecent κόρδαξ. These ἄγροικοι have their own symposium, like gentlemen of the city; but in it the rules of urbane symposia are turned topsy-turvy".[32] At times, the letters' focus is on the *ethopoeia* of ἄγροικοι who mimic the character and behavioural traits of the unsociable rustic, attracted and repelled by the temptations of wine and *eros*, with varying degrees of fidelity to the archetypal model of the *Dyskolos* and its developments in Aelian's Second Sophistic writings: in epistle 14 the protagonist Chairestratos shows repentance and irritation for having given in to wine and the melodies sung by the *hetaira* Lerium; in epistle 15 the sender invites the recipient Pithacnion to a birthday feast, proposing plentiful libations and unbridled *cordax* dancing: once again the motif of χορεύειν is associated with wine, as in *Dyskolos* 945 ff., and in Aelian's rustic epistles which are modelled on Menander's comedy: 13–16.[33]

29 On this literary 'miniature' form, and the epistolary genre itself, see Anderson [1993: 190–196]; on Alciphron, see Anderson [1997]; on epistolography in Imperial Greek literature, see Rosenmeyer [2001a], the introduction and many contributions in Hodkinson, Rosenmeyer and Bracke [2013] and Hodkinson [2017].

30 Kock's approach can be seen in various preparatory works and its complete achievement can be found in the edition of *Comicorum atticorum fragmenta*: for this question (and the relevant bibliographic references) I refer to what I wrote in Drago [2007: 77 with n. 225 and 226].

31 See Konstantakos [2004, 2005]; Belardinelli [2016: 17–35]; Drago [2017: 233].

32 Konstantakos [2005: 18].

33 See Drago [2017: 232–233].

Other studies[34] have focused on the expressive manners (often idiomatic and proverbial, and frequently of comic derivation), of Alciphron's ἄγροικοι, who are accustomed to attenuating the accuracy of their statements with expressions such as οὐκ οἶδα, οὐδὲ εἰδώς, ἠπιστάμην, ὡς ἔοικε, οἴομαι: these are expressive tics that cannot be exclusively explained as formulas of epistolary writing; but that are the stylistic translation of the rustic's ἀμαθία.[35]

But Alciphron's ἄγροικοι make clear that there is a close connection between *ethopoeia* and comic memory in the rustic epistles.

In epistle 8 of Book 2, the rustic protagonist Dryantidas addresses his wife Chronion to complain of her lack of interest in farming activities and in looking after their children: she has taken on the appearance and attitudes of an uninhibited and spiteful city dweller and new urban divinities have taken the place of Pan and the rural nymphs. It is clear how, on a general level, the epistle takes up the motif of the contrast between the rough and frugal character of the 'countryman', foreign to the pleasures of city life, and the urban *grande dame*, devoted to extravagant luxury and sexually disinhibited. Even if the contrast between these characters is most definitely to be attributed to the country-city antithesis, which was also conventional in comic codification too (the antagonism between the city-dweller Sostratus and the countryman Knemon in Menander's *Dyskolos* should be recalled in this connection), this *topos* is skilfully intertwined in the epistle with another founding question of comic anthropology: *gamos*. Alciphron thus observes the most famous example of this thematic coexistence in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, where the clash between the steady, traditional values of the rustic Strepsiades and the fatuousness of his urban bride is the cause of an irreconcilable marital crisis (see specifically 42–55). Some lexical markers indicate the exactitude of this revival, even if within a different literary genre and using a different communicative strategy (with the direct speech addressed to the wife in Alciphon corresponding to the comic soliloquy of Strepsiades): in § 3 (ἀλλὰ ἁμιλλᾶσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἀστικαῖς ταυταισὶ ταῖς ὑπὸ τρυφῆς διαρρεούσαις), the epistolographer claims the term τρυφή, a key word which in line 48 of *Clouds* expresses the wife's belonging to a universe of refined luxuries; in paragraph 2, in the mention of the "Colias and Genetyllis", Alci-

34 I am referring to studies by Jesús Ureña Bracero on the figure of the *campesino* in fictional epistles: Ureña Bracero [1998: 341–350, 2013: 179–202].

35 Alciphron has been reproached for the incoherence between the performers of these fictional letters (supposedly from the lower strata of Athenian society) and the artificiality of their language and style: see Bowie [1985: 680]. More recently Patricia Rosenmeyer [2001a: 248] has shown that this incongruity is an unavoidable feature of the epistolary form.

phron revives *verbatim* a cult epiclesis of Aphrodite (κωλιάς) which, within the wedding joke context of *Clouds* (l. 52), lends itself to an obscene double meaning (κωλῆ = "virile member") and the cult of the Genetyllis nymphs who were part of Aphrodite's court.[36] Furthermore, the reference to the woman's made-up face (with carmine and Venetian ceruse), as well as her spiteful behaviour is, most clearly, a precise paraphrase of the verses where Aristophanes mentions the fragrances, elegant crocus-coloured clothes and extravagant luxury of Strepsiades' elegant wife. Nonetheless, it is not improbable that Alciphron was also aware of the assimilation of the context of *Clouds* in Lucian's *Amores* (42), where the argument against female make-up again includes an echo of the reference to the divinities Colias and Genetyllis.[37] Konstantakos suggestively hypothesises that the scene in *Clouds*, in which the boorish, unkempt and ill-smelling Strepsiades marries a refined, luxuriously attired and perfumed lady of the city, acts at a genetic level in the *Letters* as well, telling of a love affair, often extremely opposed, between a "countryman" and a *hetaira* (2.24, 25 and 31).[38]

Elsewhere (in epistle 22 of Book 2),[39] Alciphron, who loves to play with *ethe*, presents the same situation with the roles inverted: a certain Hyle ('Wood') reprimands her spouse Nomios ('Shepherd')[40] for deserting their land and family in order to spend his empty days with the idlers of Athens' disreputable neighbourhoods. First, the astute choice of names should be noted, which, in Alciphron as in other epistolographers, this often marks an initial level of understanding: in this case, sender and recipient are clearly both linked to a rural and out-of-town setting. This common bond is both a destiny and at the same time a condemnation: any attempt to get closer to the urban world, and hence any chance of overturning a pre-established order of things, is inevitably marked by failure and condemnation. And yet Nomios, like various other characters in Alciphron's epistles, appears ready to accept the consequence of the change, motivated as he is by dissatisfaction. At a more in-depth level of interpretation, the element of the protagonist's age cannot be overlooked: he is μεσαιπόλιος (= "salt and pepper", "grey", from μέσος and πολιός): this information allows us to contextualise Nomios in a different category of *ethos* or charac-

36 On this passage see Hodkinson, in this volume.

37 See Anderson [1989: 114].

38 See Konstantakos [2005: 6].

39 On the relationship between this epistle and Comedy see Fiorucci [2016: 197–200]. Now also on comedy and Alciphron, see Höschele [2014]; Funke [2016: 223–238].

40 The speaking-names (and dramatic constructions) have been studied by Hodkinson, in this volume.

ter from that of the μειράκιον, making him ill-suited to erotic adventures. This connotation makes the protagonist's presence in the Skyros and Keramikos neighbourhoods, which are frequented by *hetairai*, especially inappropriate as can be clearly seen in other mentions of them in Alciphron (3.5.1; 3.12.3; 3.28.3). Therefore, the epistolographer's use of the motif of the sexual exuberance of prurient old men, a recurrent feature in the letters of farmers (cf. 2.14, 15 and 31), is evident, and is most definitely not drawn from New Comedy, which is Alciphron's usual source, but rather characteristic of Old Comedy (suffice it to think of Trygaeus in Aristophanes' *Peace*) or authors such as Diphilus (the elderly Lysidamus of Plautus' *Casina*) and Philemon (Demipho of Plautus' *Mercator*). Nomios' appearance as a young womaniser is clear self-delusion, while his definition as a μειράκιον ἀστικόν ("a young city lad"), by contrast, refers the reader to the typification of a well-known comic mask and *ethos*: the conceited young man in love and accustomed to the city's comforts, personified in exemplary manner by the youthful urbanite Sostratos, who aspires to marry the daughter of the ill-tempered old Knemon, and who, in the initial verses of Menander's *Dyskolos*, is defined with the same pairing of μειράκιον ἀστικόν (ll. 39–41). The customary servile presence of Syra is not lacking in the epistle: the name, an ethnic of a female slave already found in Aristophanes' *Peace* (1146), provides a markedly comic setting.[41] The predominance of the comic matrix appears to me to be confirmed by the use of some key words from the comic lexicon: for example, the verb βουκολέω, which, in the letter, qualifies the scant chance Hyle has of 'maintaining' her children. The verb, which literally means 'to graze', is used here in the sense of 'nourish' (the *scholia* to line 10 of Aristophanes' *Wasps* give its meaning as an equivalent of τρέφω). It suits a rural setting and is frequently employed in comedy, both Old and New, examples ranging from Aristophanes' *Wasps* (10) and *Ecclesiazusae* (81) to Menander's *Samia* (530, 596).[42] So too, on the level of stylistic register, the idiomatic expression οὐδ'ἀκαρῆ (= "not even") at the start of the letter, already found in Aristophanes' *Wasps* (541), should be noted. Therefore, the success of the literary operation implemented by Alciphron in this letter

41 Ethnic names used as slave names are frequent in comedy: Θρᾷττα is the female name most commonly attributed to slaves in Aristophanes (*Ach.* 273, *Vesp.* 828, *Pax* 1138, *Thesm.* 279–293; see also Pl. Com. frag. 61 K.-A.), which clearly reflects the historical fact of the high percentage of Thracian slaves within the setting of Athens (numerous ethnic names can be identified in *IG* I^3 421–430 and cf. Pl. *Tht.* 174a, c; Eup. frag. 262 K.-A.; Archipp. frag. 27 K.-A.). Other ethnic names used as slave names include Σύρα (*Pax* 1146) and Φρύξ (*Vesp.* 433); for recent epigraphic and bibliographic information on this question, see Olson [2002: 150] and Austin-Olson [2004: 144].

42 See Drago [2007: 155].

is undoubtedly to be contextualised in light of comparison with the watermarking of the comic models and characters evoked.

In conclusion, it seems evident that these two letters let us see the further development of the imagined landscape of Classical Attica, drawing heavily on material from Attic Comedy (especially New Comedy) and other sources (traditions of rustic narrative inherited from Theocritus). And yet the two letters are also clearly based on the *ethopoeia* (the rhetorical exercise of fabricating speeches in the persona of a particular type or character): the epistolographer and/or performer adopts a certain character (the 'countryman', the urban *grande dame*, the young man in love) and portrays him or her in a given situation. Alciphron's close relationship with school exercises and rhetorical training emphasises the artificiality of the imaginary world of fiction and the stylised representations of the life.[43] This approach which brings together analysis of the mechanisms used by Alciphron to combine various forms of *progymnasmata* with the articulations of the different forms of literary memory (especially, the comic and bucolic traditions) sheds new light on the epistles' compositional technique.

43 On *ethopoeia* and its influence on Alciphron see recently König [2007: 258].

CHAPTER 12

Close Encounters with the *hetaira*: Reading Alciphron's Book 4

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The transmission of Alciphron's work still leaves us in great uncertainty about the original division and ordering of the four 'books' and the sequence of their individual letters.[*,1] Although a convincing solution for this problem has not yet been found, I think, the books themselves invite us to read them together in several ways.[2] After Schepers' edition of Alciphron in 1905 a systematic coherence of his work obviously is (at least implicitly) hypothesised by the practice of all subsequent editors including letters of all four groups. But reading Alciphron's work as an epistolary collection poses a severe problem: How do the *Letters of Courtesans* fit in?[3]

Thinking about the combination of letters by such different characters as fishermen, farmers, parasites and *hetairai* has mostly led scholarship to an attractive but nevertheless rather violent division of the collection. Either the *Letters of Courtesans* have been singled out,[4] or the collection of four books has been analysed as a bipartite or four-part hierarchy. Imperial literature, especially the very popular genre of the Greek novel, cherished spatial narratives contrasting town and country, and it might well be right to think that Alciphron

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1 Most lately discussed by Granholm [2012]. Compare the contribution of Morrison in this volume.

2 I am following Rosenmeyer [2001a] in this, who favours reading Alciphron as a collection of four books, most explicitly pointed out on p. 277: "several themes […] serve to unite the separate parts of the epistolary collection […]: discontentment with one's lot in life, the related desire to trade social places, and the trials and tribulations of love." More suspicious about the coherence of Alciphron's epistolary work is Schmitz [2004].

3 Several scholars have acknowledged that the *Letters of Courtesans* seriously differ from the other books despite common features. Compare Rosenmeyer [2001a: e.g. 272–273], Schmitz [2004], König [2007], Hodkinson [2012]. A concise overview of this controversy is given by Granholm [2012: 19–20].

4 Schmitz [2004], Rosenmeyer [2001a] and Funke [2016] treat them separately.

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shared this passion by juxtaposing town and country dwellers (parasites and *hetairai* vs. fishermen and farmers)[5] within his collection.[6] Some formal features, however, point to an intentional hierarchy: on the one hand, the *Letters of Courtesans* display an overwhelming *effet de réel*[7] thanks to a distinct Athenian topography[8] and the almost exclusively historical names of the writers and addressees.[9] On the other hand, the *Letters of Courtesans* are traditionally put at the end of Alciphron's work.[10] This climax of an atticising *Beglaubigungsapparat* is supported by the inhabitants' increasing social status.[11] Taken together, these notions of ascent inevitably lead to the assumption of an internal hierarchy.

However, favouring neither a particular division or ordering of the books, nor a specific polarity between them, I should like to stress the coherence of discourse in Alciphron's work with the help of two aspects: their epistolary self-consciousness, and the typological homogeneity of the letter writers. First, all books feature letters that mention explicitly the fictional epistolary medium, that is their writing, sending, and reading. The *Letters of Courtesans*, however, easily outdo the other books in this respect: ten out of nineteen letters display

5 Avezzù [1985] believes the *Letters of Parasites* and the *Letters of Courtesans* connected by the social event symposium ("apparato conviviale", p. 18). Moreover, she argues that fishermen and farmers represent the productivity of the social body, while parasites and *hetairai* represent consumption. This harsh distinction neglects, as I think, how essentially parasites and *hetairai* contribute to the success of a symposium, compare Davidson [1997: 93]. For more on the city vs. country division in Alciphron see Drago in this volume.

6 See Swain [1996: 104–105, 113].

7 How deeply Alciphron's letters are rooted in classical rhetoric is highlighted by Rosenmeyer [2001a: 259–263] and Schmitz [2004: 91–93].

8 E.g. Schmitz [2004: 89] and Granholm [2012: 14] recognise how the *Letters of Courtesans* claim to be set in 4th century BC Athens by topographical references. Avezzù [1985: 9] mentions the importance of Athens within Alciphron's collection in general: "Al centro di questo universo si colloca […] la città (*asty*), Atene, polo urbano intorno a cui gravita, secondo rapporti diversificati, l'interna topografia sociale." A link between Athens and the comic tradition is established by Rosenmeyer [2001a: 280–281], Drago [2014a], Vox [2013] and Funke [2016].

9 König [2007: 268, 269–270] mentions some unique formal features of the *Letters of Courtesans*, such as the use of historical names, and a far greater interconnection between the letters than the letters of books 1–3 contain. On the names of Alciphron's *hetairai* see Hodkinson in this volume.

10 Schepers [1905] inaugurated this tradition. Compare Granholm [2012: 55–56].

11 Compare Hodkinson [2012: 44]: "Notwithstanding the sometimes ambivalent presentation of hierarchies, though, the material status of characters from Book 1 through to Book 4 generally moves up the social scale."

epistolary self-consciousness.[12] Second, all inhabitants of Alciphron's microcosm share a passionate longing for a distant object: a better life, food, lovers or money.[13] Their writings thus result from their innermost needs. From this point of view Alciphron's four books present themselves as an ethopoietic collection mirroring a sophist's longing for close encounters with the literary past. By choosing *hetairai* (and lovers) as writers, Alciphron sets the act of reading within an erotic context, thus granting his readers intimacy with *hetairai* and at the same time with the idealised erudition of the past.[14]

1 A Close Reading of *Letter* 4.13

In his nineteen *Letters of Courtesans*[15] Alciphron almost exclusively has the most famous *hetairai* of the 4th century BC write or receive a letter.[16] Either Phryne lets us know what she thinks about the statue of her created by Praxiteles (4.1), or Leontion complains about Epicurus's obsession with controlling her (4.17), or Glykera encourages Menander to spend some time at the court of Egypt (4.19). Alciphron thus in essence models his *Letters of Courtesans* on narratives of the most famous *hetairai* of the Hellenic past that are well-known from other sources.[17] His *hetairai* therefore appear to be the

12 Figures delivered by Rosenmeyer [2001a: 299], who mentions that three out of forty-two *Letters of Parasites* are written in a similar way.

13 This aspect is nicely encapsulated by König [2007: 257]: "The world of Alciphron's *Letters* is a world of longing and loss, a world of fragile happiness and comic disillusionment." Admittedly, what *hetairai* long for is far easier to get than what the characters of books 1–3 long for.

14 For the interconnection of the erotic with narrative compare e.g. Whitmarsh [2004: 196–212 (the chapter on "Sexing the text")] and the contributions in Nilsson [2009].

15 The chronology and transmission of Alciphron, focusing on the *Letters of Courtesans*, are discussed by Granholm [2012: 13–15, 21–53]. Although vigorously debated by contributions like Avezzù [1985: 24–27] and Anderson [1997: 2194–2199], the question of the possible dependence of Alciphron on Lucian remains unclear.

16 Only three letters are written by men, i.e. lovers: 4.8 (Simalion to Petale), 4.11 (Menecleides to Euthycles) and 4.18 (Menander to Glycera). Fögen [2007: 183] is more cautious about the women's historicity. He talks about "historisch stilisierte Figuren" and points out those letters of book 4, which claim to be written by *hetairai*, who, at least in his opinion, cannot be identified with historical *hetairai* (4.6–4.15).

17 Schuller [2008: 203] rightly mentions Athenaeus as the most exhaustive source on the famous *hetairai* of the 4th and 5th century BC. Subsequently, he refers to the scale of poetic autonomy of Lucian and Alciphron regarding the classical canon as displayed by Athenaeus: "Deshalb wissen wir auch, daß Lukian seine Geschichten vor allem selbst erfunden hat, und deshalb kann man sich bei Alkiphron dessen nicht so sicher sein."

products of a sophist's bookish erudition and at the same time masterpieces of epistolary fictionality.[18]

This even holds true for 4.13, which neither names any of the well-known *hetairai* of the Hellenic *demi-monde* nor transmits any known narrative connected to them. Instead, in 4.13 we hear about a trip to the countryside, taken by some *hetairai* along with their lovers. Although neither the name of the letter writer nor that of the addressee is preserved,[19] the text leaves no room for doubt that we should assume both to be *hetairai*.[20] On the one hand, the letter writer constantly integrates herself into the rural company by the pronoun "we" (e.g. 4.13.2: ἡ ἄφοδος ἡμῶν, 4.13.6: ἡδέως ἂν ἡμᾶς [...] ἴδοι, 4.13.18: οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἐξεβάκχευσαν αἱ προπόσεις) or the use of the first person plural (e.g. 4.13.2: ἀλλήλας ἐσκώπτομεν, 4.13.18: ἐκραιπαλῶμεν). On the other hand, the addressee is referred to as an insider of the sympotic customs of *hetairai* (4.13.9: οἵου ἓξ ἔφης [...] ἐωνῆσθαι,[21] 4.13.10: ᾠά τε τὰ τρέμοντα ταῦτα ὥσπερ αἱ πυγαὶ τῆς Θρυαλλίδος,[22] 4.13.12: οἶδας ὅ τι λέγω). The external reader is, in this way, invited to 'participate' in the secret life of *hetairai*.[23] In 4.13 this life revolves around three main issues: the sex life of *hetairai*; the sophisticated symposia of the urban upper class; and the conventional boundaries of letter writing. Along with these issues the reader is confronted with a generic play of epistolography (as a literary sub-genre of *ethopoeia*), pastoral and comedy.

18 This opinion is partly shared by Rosenmeyer [2001a: 298–307] and Fögen [2007], especially 202–203.

19 As discussed by Granholm [2012: 175]. Interestingly, this very letter is also one of those three letters that have come down to us in a fragmentary state (besides 4.1 and 3.41) and also one of the longest within the *Letters of Courtesans* (besides 4.18 and 4.19). The latter aspect is also mentioned by Funke [2016: 230], who equally singles out 4.13 as an important example within book 4, especially because it is the only one to pick up the antithesis between town and country, which is omnipresent throughout books 1–3.

20 Likewise suggested by Benner-Fobes [1949: 283]. Text and translation, if not otherwise indicated, are taken from Granholm [2012].

21 In this very case, the text is taken from Benner-Fobes [1949], keeping Seiler's emendation οἵου ἓξ (which Granholm [2012: 177] attributes to Meineke). With the encyclopaedic details on culinary art in mind, which I will treat in the next section, I cannot follow Granholm's argument [2012: 177] that "specific details like the number of jars would seem strange in this context".

22 Again, I am following the text from Benner-Fobes [1949], who keep Meineke's addition τῆς Θρυαλλίδος.

23 That the feasting ladies are really *hetairai*, who sell their bodies to customers, is emphasised by Alciphron in 4.13.16: οὕτως μικρὰ παρεμπορευσαμέναις τῆς ἀφροδίτης ("After this little love commerce").

1.1 *Erotics, Epistolography and Pastoral*

The focus on the erotic aspects of the trip is implied by the obscene remark of a passer-by, whom the letter writer and her fellow *hetairai* met on their way to the countryside: "Happy is the estate where you're going! How many figs it will have!" (4.13.2 f.: μακάριον ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον ὅποι βαδίζετε· ὅσας ἕξει συκᾶς.) Figs symbolise the female genitals and therefore hint at the erotic encounters with those *hetairai* in the countryside, analogising this idea with a rich harvest of figs.[24] This promising prolepsis is not in vain. The erotic scope of the drinking party is stressed further when the *hetairai* accomplish their pre-sympotic rites by a prayer for a quarry of lovers (4.13.5: ἱκετεύομεν διδόναι τινὰ ἡμῖν ἐρωτικὴν ἄγραν).[25] And, last but not least, the letter faces its erotic summit with the sexual intercourse between *hetairai* and lovers (4.13.12–4.13.16) under observance of the lusty gods Pan and Priapus (4.13.16).

Furthermore, the erotic scope of 4.13 is aptly stressed by ring composition. The closure of the letter (4.13.19) recalls the proleptic προπεμπτικόν at its beginning:

> Ἔδει ἀπολαῦσαί σε τῆς γοῦν ἀκοῆς τοῦ συμποσίου [...] εἰ καὶ μὴ τῆς παροινίας ἐδυνήθης.
>
> You should at least have the pleasure of hearing about our drinking party [...] even if you couldn't partake in our revelry.

The absence of the addressee from the rural symposium is named as a reason for writing. Erotic matters and epistolarity are thus intertwined. This becomes quite striking, if we take into account the fact that the addressee is meant to gain distraction from the letter (ἀπολαῦσαι). Although the reasons for not attending the rural symposium are left unclear, we are to imagine two possible contexts of reading for the addressee: either her recovery (εἰ μὲν ὄντως ἔσχηκας μαλακῶς) or her waiting for a lover (εἰ δὲ τὸν ἐραστὴν προσδοκῶσα ἥξειν ἔνδον οἰκουρεῖς).

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24 This is the first time in 4.13 that *hetairai* are represented as consumer goods, in fact, by a male voice. I will return to this point later on. On figs to indicate the cunt, see Henderson [1975: 134, n° 122].

25 With ἐρωτικὴν ἄγραν the letter writer possibly hints at pastoral, underlining the generic mixture of epistolary and bucolic elements. Besides, in Xen. *Mem.* 3.11.5–15, the *hetaira* Theodote is instructed by Socrates to become a hunter of lovers (3.11.7: τὸ πλείστου ἄξιον ἄγρευμα, φίλους, θηράσειν "going to hunt friends, the noblest prey in the world"). It is not unlikely that Alciphron might have this scene in mind, by which he could stress the link between *hetaira* and manipulative rhetorical power.

Whatever the reason for having missed the rural symposium might be, most likely, it is not the erotic content of the letter alone from which the (internal) reader is expected to gain distraction. I would argue rather that the generic embedding of the erotic content is another important motivation for the letter: when the letter writer tells her addressee that she and her fellow *hetairai* were invited to leave the city for a trip to the countryside, the reader is prepared for an ongoing intrusion of the bucolic world.[26] As soon as the travellers have reached their destination, their arrival is sealed by the description of a *locus amoenus* (4.13.4). The gravitational pull of the bucolic genre even affects urban sympotic customs: the letter writer vehemently refuses to have the drinking party held inside the house, and suggests instead turning the symposium into an outdoor event (4.13.7). Her fellow *hetairai* agree and the garden all of a sudden is transformed into an ἀνδρών (4.13.8). I want to suggest that this spatial transformation should be seen as reflecting the generic embedding of (urban) epistolary into (rural) pastoral.[27]

Indeed, the text supports this reading in at least two ways: a second *locus amoenus* and the epiphany of Pan. After the *hetairai* have built their open-air ἀνδρών, the letter writer describes its lovely setting as following:

> Ἐαρινοῖς ἐφιζάνουσαι πετάλοις ἡδὺ καὶ κωτίλον ἀηδόνες ἐψιθύριζον, ἠρέμα δὲ οἱ σταλαγμοὶ καταλειβόμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς οἷον ἱδρούσης σπιλάδος τρυφερόν τινα παρεῖχον ψόφον ἐαρινῷ πρέποντα συμποσίῳ.
>
> 4.13.9

> Nightingales, perched amid leaves of spring, sang in a pleasant and twittering way; the drops of water that gently dripped like sweat from the rock made a pleasant sound befitting our springtime drinking party.

This second *locus amoenus* crowns the open-air ἀνδρών as befitting the bucolic setting, and marks the transition to the dinner party.

Moreover, Pan, the bucolic god *per se*, seems to authorise the generic embedding of epistolary into pastoral. Mentioned at first as a statue crowning the

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26 The narrative switch is further indicated in the first paragraphs of 4.13 (4.13.1: ἐρωτικοῦ, φίλη, κτημάτιον ὄντως, οὐ γεωργοῦ and 4.13.2–3 μακάριον ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον ὅποι βαδίζετε· ὅσας ἕξει συκᾶς). Bucolic tendencies in 4.13 have also been attested by e.g. Rosenmeyer [2001a: 259], who speaks about ekphrastic "pastoral scenes" in 4.13.

27 Rosenmeyer [2001a: 298] suggests a more realistic flavour of letter writing *hetairai* thanks to their conventional connection to urbanity in contrast to the letter writing characters of books 1 and 2.

(introductory) *locus amoenus* (4.13.4), Pan is subject to a gradual 'reanimation': first, the *hetairai* explicitly pile up their altar opposite his statue (4.13.5: ἀντικρὺ βωμὸν αὐτοσχεδίως ἐνήσαμεν), exposing themselves to his surveillance. Next, the letter writer refers to his earlier mentioned gaze on the nymphs (4.13.4: Πὰν οἷον κατοπτεύων τὰς Ναΐδας) and suggests him following the rural symposium of *hetairai* driven by lusty curiosity (4.13.6: ὁρᾷς γὰρ ὥς ἐστιν ἐρωτικός· ἡδέως ἂν ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα κραιπαλώσας ἴδοι). Shortly after that, Pan is imagined as being about to attend the drinking party in person, "Pan almost jumped off the rock straight onto her buttocks" (4.13.12: ὀλίγου ὁ Πὰν ἐδέησεν ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας ἐπὶ τὴν πυγὴν αὐτῆς ἐξάλλεσθαι); finally, he observes (προσβλέπειν) the rest of the drinking party sexually aroused, as expressed by the company of Priapus (4.13.16: "Pan and Priapus seemed to look at us with greater pleasure").[28]

1.2 *Technical Digressions*

The letter, however, is never fully turned into a 'bucolic letter', due to extensive technical digressions on botany (4.13.6–8, 4.13.17), culinary art (4.13.9–10 and 4.13.16) and pornography (4.13.12–4.13.16). These sophisticated comments on plants, food and seductive art do not necessarily contribute to the needs of ekphrastic ἐνάργεια,[29] but rather reveal the urban appetites of an imperial writer (and reader as well) for technical *curiosa*, making one think of encyclopaedic works like Athenaeus's *Philosophers at dinner*.[30] Indeed, the letter writer consciously refers to exclusive fields of knowledge, as can be seen from her authoritative parentheses like λέγουσιν (4.13.17) or καλοῦσιν (4.13.10), which refer to an (unknown) circle of experts.[31]

In any case, when the *hetairai* start building their open-air ἀνδρών, branches and plants are mentioned that are appropriate to architectural activity (4.13.8): couches are best built from myrtle and yew (κατακλώμεναι, αἱ μὲν σμίλακος, αἱ δὲ μυρρίνης κλάδους καὶ τὰ χλανίσκια ἐπιστορέσασαι αὐτοσχεδίως συνερρίψαμεν

28 Eventually this reanimation of a statue could even be read as a *mise en abyme*, highlightening Alciphron's rhetorical power to reanimate the classical past. Moreover, positioning the *hetairai* in front of a male god, who watches female goddesses, might imply the male gaze of Alciphron and his readers at the adventures of the feasting *hetairai*. Pan's popularity in 4.13 makes Funke [2016: 231] align the orgy plot to Menander's *Dyskolos*. In her opinion, though, the pornographic explicitness of 4.13 is unique to the epistolary genre.

29 A brief survey of imperial ἐνάργεια can be found in Hunter [1983: 40–41].

30 Benner-Fobes [1949: 293] likewise refer to Athenaeus.

31 When she silences personal names, she in a way refines the pieces of knowledge she obviously got hold of and makes her a part of these elitist masterminds.

κλίνην),[32] clover and trefoil grant a comfortable ground (τοὔδαφος λωτῷ καὶ τριφύλλῳ μαλθακόν). In addition, the feasting *hetairai* comment on flowers suitable for wreaths (4.13.15: ἡ μὲν κλωνία μυρρίνης συνέδει ὥσπερ στέφανον ἑαυτῇ πλέκουσα) or fragrance (4.13.15: ἴων ἔχουσα κάλυκας ἐπανῄει, "ὡς χρηστὸν ἀποπνεῖ"). The letter writer's praise on home-grown lettuce is thereby certainly a highlight of botanic expertise, and thus cited in full length:

> Ἔτι μέντοι ὃ μάλιστα ἡδέως ἐφάγομεν, θριδακῖναι καὶ σέλινα· ἡλίκαι δοκεῖς θριδακῖναι; πλησίον δὲ ἦν ὁ κῆπος· ἑκάστη, "ταύτην ἕλκυσον", "μὰ Δία ἀλλά μοι ταύτην", "μὴ μὲν οὖν ἀλλὰ ἐκείνην" ἐλέξαμεν ταῖς θεραπαινίσιν· ἦσαν δὲ αἱ μὲν εὔφυλλοι καὶ μακραί, αἱ δὲ οὖλαι βοστρύχοις ἐμφερεῖς, ἄλλαι βραχεῖαι, ὑπόξανθος δέ τις τοῖς φύλλοις αὐτῶν ἐκέχρωστο αὐγή· τὴν Ἀφροδίτην λέγουσι ταύτας φιλεῖν.
>
> 4.13.17
>
> Moreover there was lettuce and celery that we ate with greatest delight; and how big do you think the lettuce was? The garden was nearby; we each said to our maids, 'Pull this one!' 'No, by Zeus, this one!' 'No, not that one, this one!' Some were leafy and long, others twisted like curly hair, others yet were short and their leaves had a yellowish tinge. They say Aphrodite loves them.

The reader learns, that a lettuce's quality is not restricted to its exquisite taste (μάλιστα ἡδέως ἐφάγομεν), but that its size, shape and, foremost, its mythological background are significant as well: τὴν Ἀφροδίτην λέγουσι ταύτας φιλεῖν. The feasting *hetairai* thus close their dinner with their divine patron's favourite vegetable.[33]

Beyond this extraordinary 'dessert', however, the letter writer also lists the entire menu, ruled by the sequence of first course (4.13.9–10), wine (4.13.11) and second course (4.13.16).[34] Alongside her enumeration, the *hetaira* occasionally

32 Keeping Meiser's emendation κλίνην as suggested by Benner-Fobes [1949] and translated as follows: "some of us broke off branches of yew, others branches of myrtle, and by spreading our cloaks over them we threw together an improvised couch."

33 On lettuce as aphrodisiac for women and contraceptive for men, see Douglas [1931: 40 and 42] and, with more literary sources, Konstan [2011: n. 9].

34 The menu is truly enumerated in a catalogue style, suggesting their meal's opulence and quick sequence (4.13.9–10): οἶνος ἦν […] ᾠά τε […] καὶ τεμάχη καὶ λεκτορίδες […] εἶτα γαλάκτια […] τὰ μὲν […] τὰ δ'[…] καὶ σκώληκας· εἶτα πεμμάτια […], 4.13.11: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο […], 4.13.16: ἐμφαγεῖν δὴ πάλιν […] καὶ […] καὶ […] εἶτα […] καὶ […] καὶ […] καὶ […] καὶ […] ἔτι μέντοι […]

mentions special names of dishes (4.13.10: πυτίας μοι δοκῶ καλοῦσιν αὐτὰ καὶ σκώληκας) or adds their origin (e.g. 4.13.9: οἶνος ἦν οὐκ ἐπιχώριος, ἀλλὰ Ἰταλός, 4.13.10: ἀλεκτορίδες οἰκουροί, 4.13.16: κόγχοι καὶ κήρυκες ἦσαν ἐξ ἄστεος οἱ κομισθέντες).[35] She once also joins medical advice to food (4.13.17: καὶ σισάρων εὐκάρδιοι ῥίζαι).[36] In unrivalled accuracy, however, the letter writer exposes a catalogue of seductive methods.[37] She names at least five different ways of attracting a lover: Doing your hair (ἡ μὲν […] στέφανον ἑαυτῇ πλέκουσα), putting on fragrance (ἡ δ' ἴων ἔχουσα κάλυκας), striptease (ἡ δὲ μῆλα ἄωρα […] ἐπεδείκνυτο),[38] humming (ἡ δὲ ἐμινύριζεν) and playing coy (ἡ δὲ φύλλα […] διέτρωγεν ὥσπερ ἀκκιζομένη). Besides verbal seduction, paragraphs 12–15 give a step-by-step description of sexual intercourse: from the erotic context (4.13.11–12: wine, music, and dancing), sexual arousal (4.13.13: kisses and embraces) to the arrangement of a bridal chamber (4.13.14: θάλαμος), and dressing up (4.13.14: τοὺς χιτωνίσκους πιθάνως εἰσεπαίομεν).[39]

Although the letter writer refers to nature's generosity (4.13.10, 4.13.17) and the nymphs and Pan (paragraphs 4, 6, 12, and 16), the technical passages on botany, culinary art and pornography are clearly embedded in a bucolic setting and thereby hint at the generic embedding of urban genres (encyclopaedic writing and epistolography) into pastoral. There is another genre, however, unmistakably present through the technical aspects of 4.13, namely comedy.

1.3 *The Comic Tradition of the hetaira*

Hetairai eating Aphrodite's favourite vegetable (lettuce), discussing its form, and fighting over its best pieces,[40] all this hints at the comic stereotype of the debauched *hetaira*. Rooted in the misogynistic prejudice towards women

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35 4.13.10: "I think they call them junkets and twists"; 4.13.9: "There was wine, not domestic but Italian"; 4.13.10: "homebred hens"; 4.13.16: "there were mussels and periwinkles that were brought in from town".

36 4.13.17: "and roots of parsnip, good for the stomach".

37 Already Rosenmeyer [2001a: 262] labelled 4.13 as "practically pornographic". According to his reading of 4.13 (and 4.14) Konstan [2011] ascribes the invention of the pornographic genre to Alciphron. Konstan, however, does not refer to Henry [1992] and [2000], who discusses Athenaeus's use of the word πορνογράφος (13.567b) and its implications for reading his book on *hetairai*.

38 Konstan [2011: 325] refers to "the pun on μῆλα = *breasts*".

39 The three remaining fragments of Philainis' sex manual do not offer evidence that seductive plays as described in 4.13 formed part of her pornographic encyclopaedia. On Philainis and other Hellenistic sex manuals, see Parker [1992]; on the identity of Philainis, see Boehringer [2015]. Female sexuality in 4.13 is discussed by Funke [2012].

40 In Lucian's *Symposium* 43, for instance, philosophers fight over the best pieces of roast.

as victims of uncontrollable bodily desires,[41] such references to the *hetaira*'s appetite are widely spread.[42] In 4.13 this stereotype is forced by the consumption of an aphrodisiac. Indeed, the letter writer contributes the last passage of her re-narration to the swift intoxication by Aphrodite's vegetable that has been harvested shortly before: the *hetairai* indulge in a final open-air orgy (4.18). As their 'dessert' is followed by another excessive consumption of wine (ἐκραιπαλῶμεν μάλα νεανικῶς), their lecherousness is completely unbounded. They do not even care anymore to hide their lust from each other (μέχρι μηδὲ λανθάνειν ἀλλήλας θέλειν, μηδὲ αἰδουμένως τῆς ἀφροδίτης παρακλέπτειν). The letter writer somewhat proudly refers to this shameless behaviour: "the wine filled us with such a bacchic frenzy. I hate the neighbour's cock! His crowing put an end to our revelry."[43]

Indeed, *hetairai* driven by their bodily appetites are the main stereotype of 4.13: on the one hand, the letter writer devotes four passages to the course of dishes (4.13.9–10 and 4.13.16–17). On the other hand, her food catalogue breaks the usual sympotic sequence of food and drinking.[44] So, when the *hetairai* interrupt the courses by excessive drinking, music and sexual excitement, they freely adjust sympotic customs to their own needs. The comic stereotype of a *hetaira*'s greediness clearly is strengthened herein.

This also holds true for the most extended technical digression of 4.13, the seductive skills of the feasting *hetairai*: Athenaeus's book 13 and a comic *interludium* in Longus spring to mind. In 13.568–569, Athenaeus cites passages from Alexis, Eubulus and Xenarchus, in which *hetairai* present themselves to passers-by promoting their individual favours. Among the seductive modes of these *hetairai* we find chewing plants ("she must keep a thin piece of myrtle wood upright between her lips"),[45] standing in brothels and showing breasts ("there are very pretty lasses at the brothels, whom the boys may see basking in the sun, their breasts uncovered, stripped for action and posted in battle-line").[46] 4.13, then, seems to pick up this comic snapshot of a prostitute's real-

41 See for a brief overview Pomeroy [1994: 271] on Xen. *Oec.*7.6 (the benefit of a young bride knowing how to control her appetite).

42 Compare Davidson [1997].

43 Moreover, it is not philosophical talk that is interrupted by the cock's crow (like in Pl. *Smp.*223c–223d), but wine-driven licentiousness (παροινία).

44 See e.g. Pl. *Smp.*176a and Xen. *Smp.*2.1.

45 13.568d: ξυλήφιον μυρρίνης ἔχουσα λεπτὸν ὀρθὸν ἐν τοῖς χείλεσιν (text and translation from Gulick [1959]).

46 13.569b: ἐπὶ τοῖσι πορνείοισιν, ἃς ἔξεσθ' ὁρᾶν εἱληθερούσας, στέρν' ἀπημφιεσμένας, γυμνὰς ἐφεξῆς τ' ἐπὶ κέρως τεταγμένας.

ity[47] by the bridal chambers of the feasting *hetairai* and their different ways of attracting their lovers under the pretence of adorning nature's beauty or the like.

That rhetoric fallacy and luring lovers to a secret place for intercourse really seem to have been a common feature of comedy can be concluded from Longus' passage on Lykainion and Daphnis (3.15–19). Regarding her sexual knowledge, her allusive rhetoric and her marriage to a rich old man, Lykainion seems to be derived rather from the comic than the bucolic world—regardless of whether or not she is a *hetaira*.[48] Moreover, Lykainion leads the bucolic hero Daphnis under false pretences into the woods, where his sexual *defloratio* takes place:[49]

> Σὺ τοίνυν πρὸς τῶν Νυμφῶν καὶ τοῦ Πανὸς ἐκείνου συνεισελθὼν εἰς τὴν ὕλην (μόνη γὰρ δέδοικα) σῶσόν μοι τὸν χῆνα.
>
> 3.16.3

> Please, in the name of the Nymphs and Pan over there, come with me into the wood—I am afraid to go by myself—and rescue my goose.

Chloe's defloration in the bridal chamber, which closes the novel, explicitly alludes to Daphnis' defloration in the woods.[50] In this respect it has been argued that the Lykainion episode is of metafictional importance for the mean-

47 Artemidorus (*Oneirocritica* 1.78.14–16), for example, mentions *hetairai* standing beside brothels in order to attract lovers.

48 Though I do opt for this reading, as she has been deflowered by a man other than her husband (3.19.2: πάλαι γάρ με ταῦτα ἀνὴρ ἄλλος ἐπαίδευσε, μισθὸν τὴν παρθενίαν λαβών "another man taught me this lesson long ago, and took my virginity as his fee"). In addition to that, she is the only one to free Daphnis from his sexual ἀπορία and with whom the sexual act is described most explicitly, in blunt contrast to the necessarily chaste bride Chloe. Further, Lykainion's advice to bring Chloe for her *defloratio* into the woods too (3.19.3: ἄγαγε αὐτὴν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον "bring her to this spot") and not into a bridal room seems to be rooted in the prostitution business. Lykainion as a courtesan type drawn from comedy into pastoral is outlined by Funke [2012: 183–186]. How the word ὕλη ('wood') links the passage on Lykainion to the metapoetic notion of the novel's ending is going to be discussed by Calum MacIver ("The Ending of Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* (again)").

49 The text is taken from Reeve [1994], translations are taken from Morgan [2004].

50 Longus 4.40.3: καὶ ἔδρασέ τι Δάφνις ὧν αὐτὸν ἐπαίδευσε Λυκαίνιον, καὶ τότε Χλόη πρῶτον ἔμαθεν ὅτι τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ὕλης γενόμενα ἦν ποιμένων παίγνια. "And Daphnis did something of what Lykainion had taught him, and then, for the first time, Chloe learned that what had happened on the edge of the wood had been shepherds' games."

ing of the novel's last word, i.e. "play" (παίγνια).[51] *Daphnis and Chloe* shows several traces of different genres other than novel, most prominently of course pastoral, and Longus' work surely owes much of its charm to that generic mixture.

Alciphron, I suppose, follows a similar strategy. The idea of playing is quite prominent in 4.13 and seems to refer to the letter's generic mixture of epistolary, bucolic, encyclopaedic, and comic elements.[52] The letter-writing *hetaira* twice describes the way to the countryside as παιδιά: εὐθὺς μὲν ἡ ἄφοδος ἡμῶν εἶχέ τινα παιδιάν (4.13.2: "Right away our departure offered some amusement") and ἔλαθε δ' ἡμᾶς ἡ ὁδὸς διὰ τὴν παιδιάν (4.13.2: "We didn't even realise, because of the amusement, that our journey had come to an end"). In addition to that, the erotic actions during the drinking party are also referred to as play (παίζω): πρὸς Διονύσῳ ἐπαίζομεν (4.13.13: "[we] fooled around in the presence of Dionysus"). If we consider that the letter writer's intention is to give an exact account of the past drinking party, so that the addressee can rejoice in it without having been present, the generic play is suggested to be a prime feature of 4.13: it contributes to the letter's effect on the act of reading and to the letter's rhetoric quality as well.[53]

In fact, comparing a sophist's alluring rhetorical power to the oratorical skills of a *hetaira* is an idea neither restricted to 4.13, nor to Alciphron. In 4.7.4 Leontion, the *hetaira* of the philosopher Epicurus, claims that there is not a big difference between a sophist and a *hetaira*. Both make their living in the business of πειθώ (persuasion):

> Οἴει δὲ διαφέρειν ἑταίρας σοφιστήν; τοσοῦτον ἴσως ὅσον οὐ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἑκάτεροι πείθουσιν, ἐπεὶ ἕν γε ἀμφοτέροις τέλος πρόκειται τὸ λαβεῖν.
>
> Do you think a sophist is any different from a courtesan? Maybe in so far as they don't persuade by the same means, but they certainly both have one and the same goal: gain.

51 Cf. Hunter [1983, 50], who thinks that "the closing words of the novel, ποιμένων παίγνια, [...] point the reader to a level at which the work may be interpreted, just as Gorgias concludes the *Helen*".

52 Rosenmeyer [2001a: 263] talks about Alciphron's "epistolary *ethopoeia*" to highlight the charm of his "game" by proudly advertising his debts to the epistolary genre and rhetorical *progymnasmata*.

53 Alciphron's elaborate handling of genre is mentioned e.g. in a general overview by Anderson [1997: 2190–2193] and Rosenmeyer [2001a: 256–258]. Hodkinson [2007] and König [2007] specially focus on the epistolary genre, whereas Hodkinson [2012] and Drago (in this volume) concentrate on pastoral and New Comedy.

What sophist and *hetaira* have in common, then, is that their professional use of verbal and/or non-verbal rhetorics is deeply rooted in imperial παιδεία.[54] In fact, the allegory of the *hetaira* as παιδεία is quite popular in the Second Sophistic (think only of Athenaeus or Lucian) and seems to have found its way into Greek rhetorical theory with Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[55] In this essentially rhetorical tradition, the analogy of *hetaira* and rhetor/sophist might well be familiar to a πεπαιδευμένος, who read Alciphron's letter 4.13.

2 *Hetairai* and the Cultural Archive of Athens: *Letters* 4.18 and 4.19

I would therefore argue further that, in the *Letters of Courtesans*, Alciphron presents the *hetaira* as the pulsating heart of Athens' vast cultural archive.[56] All knowledge of the classical period is ordered around her. This becomes especially clear, when we remember those letters, that claim to be written by famous *hetairai* on well-known narrative themes:[57] Alciphron exploits the fact, that among the lovers of the most famous *hetairai* of the classical period were statesmen (Demetrius Polyorcetes, 4.16 and 4.17), rhetoricians (Hypereides, 4.3 and 4.4), philosophers (Epicurus, 4.7), artists (Praxiteles, 4.1) and poets (Menander, 4.2 and 4.18–19). Of course, all these ἐρασταί represent branches of imperial παιδεία, but a *hetaira*'s business profited not only from its professional alliances with politics, erudition and art: it also profited from social events like drinking parties (e.g. 4.11, 4.13, 4.14) and religious cults (e.g. Adonia 4.14, Haloa

54 Note that Gunderson [2000] treats the relationship between rhetorical skills and performative body of imperial orators represented in some of Lucian's works. Gilhuly [2007: 84] discusses the *hetaira* as "a mask for the sophist-performer."

55 I.e. the proem of *De antiquis oratoribus*, where Attic wife and Asian *hetaira* are presented as antithetic allegories of atticism and asianism, although this idea might not have been his own, but a technical transformation of comic and oratorical traditions. How Lucian and other Greek imperial authors use the character of the *hetaira* as an object of male power is analysed in my PhD thesis.

56 Among others Avezzù [1985: 30–31] recognizes Alciphron's striving to idealise Athens as the guardian of classical tradition. I do not agree with her suggestion, though, that Athens is turned into a "spazio del piacere" (9) by the eyes and tongues of the *hetairai* in book 4. We should not overlook the glimpses into negative aspects of the prostitution business as displayed in 4.2 (public defamation), 4.6 (rivalry), 4.4 and 4.5 (unpredictable lovers). Granholm [2012: 20] likewise is very cautious about the supposed happiness of Alciphron's *hetairai* and König [2007: 259] talks about Alciphron's "landscapes of frustrated desire".

57 Rosenmeyer [2001a: 276] especially sees Phryne and her voice in 4.1 as product of male fantasy.

4.18). Therefore, looking at classical Athens through the eyes of a *hetaira* promises a widespread sight of παιδεία.

In the *Letters of Courtesans* the *hetaira* thus is the (re)animation of the Hellenic archive:[58] overhearing a famous *hetaira*'s letter to her famous lover, then, is like breaking the seal of a box, that was well hidden until now. And intruding the privacy of historical celebrities certainly becomes even more thrilling if the letter is about love affairs.[59]

This aspect is aptly exploited in letters 4.18 and 4.19, a correspondence between the comic playwright Menander and his *hetaira* Glycera.[60] Both letters discuss the advantages and disadvantages of King Ptolemy's offer to leave Athens and live at the Egyptian court. In 4.18, Menander's letter, the playwright demonstrates Athens as a cultural Hellenic archive and simultaneously integrates Glycera into that archive:

> Ποῦ γὰρ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὄψομαι ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ψῆφον ἀναδιδομένην; ποῦ δὲ […] Κεραμεικόν, ἀγοράν, δικαστήρια, τὴν καλὴν ἀκρόπολιν, […] τὰ μυστήρια, τὴν γειτνιῶσαν Σαλαμῖνα, […] τὸν Μαραθῶνα, ὅλην ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις τὴν Ἑλλάδα […]; ἀφεὶς ταῦτα καὶ Γλυκέραν μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπέλθω χρυσὸν λαβεῖν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ πλοῦτον; ᾧ μετὰ τίνος χρήσομαι; μετὰ Γλυκέρας τοσοῦτον διατεθαλασσευμένης; οὐ πενία δέ μοι ἔσται χωρὶς αὐτῆς ταῦτα;
>
> 4.18.11–13

> Where in Egypt will I see an assembly or a question being put up for vote? Where will I find […] Ceramicus, market place, jury courts, lovely

58 Rosenmeyer [2001a: 262]: "Parasites and courtesans become the representatives of the great cultural heritage of classical Athens, and this is precisely the kind of witty paradox that the authors (and presumably readers) of the Second Sophistic must have enjoyed".

59 The thrilling experience of epistolary is stated e.g. by Hodkinson [2007: 298]: "Indeed, the notional privacy of letters is central to the literary reader's enjoyment of them—a kind of 'eavesdropping' experience.", or Fögen [2007: 189]: "Der Rezipient dieses Textes wird gleichsam in die Rolle des Empfängers oder zumindest des Mitwissers versetzt." For this reason the fragmentary state of 4.13 is really very unfortunate, even if Granholm [2012: 175] is more optimistic about that: "The recipient of the letter may well have been Bacchis like in 4.14".

60 Besides, this correspondence surely is a splendid example for urban genres like comedy intruding into the bucolic world, or rather for the generic mixture as a striking feature of Alciphron's epistolary collection. Funke [2016] argues further that this letter pair marks New Comedy, especially Menander, as an important literary source for Alciphron's ethopoietic microcosm, compare e.g. 224: "My conclusion considers the function of the epistolary format in redirecting the reader's attention to the secondary characters of Menander".

> Acropolis […] Mysteries, neighbouring Salamis […] Marathon, all Greece in Athens […]? Shall I abandon these and Glycera with them, and go to Egypt to get gold, silver and riches? With whom shall I enjoy this? With Glycera who is so far separated from me by the sea? Will not these things seem like poverty without her?

On the one hand, all Greece is compiled in Athens, on the other hand the *hetaira* is all Greece to the comic poet. Democratic buildings (and actions), districts of public life, religion, as well as the most important battlefields of Greek history are encapsulated in Menander's Athens. This magnificent edifice cannot be replaced by any wealth awaiting in foreign Egypt, and the reason for that is quite simple: if Menander is deprived of Glykera, he is deprived of Greece.[61]

It has been argued convincingly, that Menander could be read as authorial mask of Alciphron.[62] From this point of view it seems plausible to think that Alciphron cherishes classical *hetairai* in the same way as Menander cherishes Glycera in 4.18. First, Glycera is both a literary product and an object of desire. Second, Glycera is an animated surrogate for classical Athens. Now, for Alciphron this means on the one hand, that classical *hetairai* are treated like an archive of classical παιδεία. All his sophistic activity, i.e. the writing of his *Letters of Courtesans*, depends on this archive located around the classical *hetairai*. On the other hand, he parallels Menander's love and longing for Glycera with a sophist's longing for classical Athens. As we know, the sophist's longing will never be fulfilled. And, indeed, Glycera hints to that very fact in her reply (4.19). Glycera indulges in her role as personification of Athens, and that particularly seems to be the reason, why she advises Menander to accept the king's invita-

61 This has already been stated in 4.18.6: Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ περιμενῶ βουλάς, ἀλλὰ σύ μοι, Γλυκέρα, καὶ γνώμη καὶ Ἀρεοπαγῖτις βουλὴ καὶ Ἡλιαία, ἅπαντα, νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἀεὶ γέγονας καὶ νῦν ἔσῃ. "I'm not going to wait for advice, since you, Glycera, have always been and now will be my judgment, my Areopagus council and my Heliastic court, my everything, by Athena."

62 Hodkinson [2012: 51–53] convincingly interprets Menander, as portrayed in 4.18 and 4.19, as Alciphron's authorial *alter ego*. On page 51, n. 49, Hodkinson provides further literature for an interpretation of 4.18 and 4.19 as programmatic for Alciphron as a whole. Also compare Funke [2016: 231]: "If the Ἐπιστολαὶ Ἑταιρικαί combine the onstage world of Menander with a quasi-historical Athens, this pair of letters draws Menander into the world that he has created." König [2007: 270] points to the importance of historical names, by the help of which the *hetairai* are freed from the burden of being anything else but type characters: "They [= the *hetairai*], unlike the marginal characters of Books 1–3, have been saved from oblivion." König 2007: 277–280 further mentions for the significance of names for the fictionality of Alciphron's letters.

tion: the lovers might be further separated—a good way to keep Menander's longing (and Alciphron's letter writing) alive.[63]

For Menander and Glycera writing and reading letters, then, becomes, or rather remains a substitute for a real close encounter, just as Rosenmeyer pointed out (2001a: 301): "writing, for lovers, always remains secondary to an actual personal encounter."[64] Besides that, Glycera praises Menander as being all Athens to King Ptolemy (4.19.4: ἐπιθυμῶν Ἀθῆνας πρὸς αὐτὸν διαβῆναι "he wants Athens to come over to him"),[65] and constantly refers to his success as playwright (4.19.5). This, again, seems to allude to 4.18, in which Menander was thought of as Alciphron's authorial mask. Glycera, however, immediately makes it clear, that Menander is nothing without her: whenever Menander wins prizes, it is due to Glycera:[66]

> Τί δὲ Μένανδρος χωρὶς Γλυκέρας; ἥτις αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ προσωπεῖα διασκευάζω καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐνδύω [...]
>
> 4.19.6

> And what would Menander be without Glycera? I, who set the masks in order for him and put on the clothes [...]

3 Alciphron's Letters = Consumable Goods = *hetairai*?

So, are we to think that Alciphron sees the famous narratives of the *Letters of Courtesans* as a guarantee of his success, as a proof of his ethopoietic mastery? I would suggest that the closure of 4.13 is significant in this respect:

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63 Glykera's letter is—according to its traditional place at the end of book 4—the last of the whole collection; the fact that Glycera stresses distance between the lovers promises an "epistolary future", as Rosenmeyer [2001a: 306] thinks.

64 In 4.18 Alciphron might express these ideas of prolonged longing and the boundaries of epistolary by king Ptolemy's letter, which Menander had enclosed in his letter to Glycera. Glycera is to an extent in authoritative control over the letter's wording and, what is more, over the reader's curiosity. Compare Rosenmeyer [2001a: 303]: "We continue to be teased by this all important but unreadable document". If we read the king's letter as representing the past, as it was written long before Menander's and Glycera's letter, the one thing 4.18 can do, is to bring the reader as close as possible to this past during the act of reading.

65 As she is all Athens to Menander, in turn. I owe this observation to Owen Hodkinson.

66 Glycera's self-confidence makes one think of Phryne's manipulative and metapoetic power in 4.1 as analysed thoroughly by Rosenmeyer [2001b].

Ἔδει ἀπολαῦσαί σε τῆς γοῦν ἀκοῆς τοῦ συμποσίου—τρυφερὸν γὰρ ἦν καὶ πρέπον ἐρωτικῇ φιλίᾳ—εἰ καὶ μὴ τῆς παροινίας ἐδυνήθης· ἐβουλόμην οὖν ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα ἐπιστεῖλαι καὶ προὐτράπην· σὺ δὲ εἰ μὲν ὄντως ἔσχηκας μαλακῶς, ὅπως ἄμεινον ἕξεις σκόπει· εἰ δὲ τὸν ἐραστὴν προσδοκῶσα ἥξειν ἔνδον οἰκουρεῖς, οὐκ ἀλόγως οἰκουρεῖς. ἔρρωσο.

4.13.19

You should at least have the pleasure of hearing about our drinking party—for it was sumptuous and suitable for erotic friendship—even if you couldn't partake in our revelry. So I wanted to write you a detailed written account of everything, and I was urged to do so. If you really were feeling unwell, try and find a way to get better; but if you're staying at home because you're expecting your lover to come, then you're staying at home not without reason. Farewell.

The letter writing *hetaira* self-confidently claims that she can overcome bodily absence by means of written re-narration: reading her rural drinking party can substitute for the real experience of dionysiac folly (ἔδει ἀπολαῦσαί σε τῆς γοῦν ἀκοῆς τοῦ συμποσίου [...] εἰ καὶ μὴ τῆς παροινίας ἐδυνήθης). She stresses the act of reading as a bodily sensation (ἀπολαῦσαι), and advertises her letter as an erotic encounter (τρυφερὸν γὰρ ἦν καὶ πρέπον ἐρωτικῇ φιλίᾳ).[67] Moreover, the addressee's sensation depends on her writing skills. Hence, the *hetaira* promotes herself as a serious guide to a trip into the past (ἐβουλόμην οὖν ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα ἐπιστεῖλαι) and her letter as an exquisite piece of writing, almost an epistolary 'Symposium' (ἔδει ἀπολαῦσαί σε τῆς γοῦν ἀκοῆς τοῦ συμποσίου).[68] I think that we should assume Alciphron lurking behind these words and similarly offering himself as guide for the external reader to a complete and joyful experience of the past (the drinking party). A further hint about reading this letter's closure metapoetically, then, might be how the two possible reasons for the addressee's absence are described. Both are displayed in tenses with present meaning (ἔσχηκας μαλακῶς and οἰκουρεῖς). The sent letter, i.e. the

67 The commercial relationship between *hetaira* and lover is commonly called friendship; compare Davidson [1997: 123–130] and Granholm [2012: 180]. Hodkinson [2007: 290] points to the advantages of epistolography including disguising the written letter as "personally delivered oration". I would suggest 4.13 equally uses sensory impressions to blend together the temporal distance between writer and reader, or rather present and past during the moment of reading.

68 Less enthusiastic is Rosenmeyer [2001a: 299], who terms the narration of the rural drinking party "a poor substitute for the event itself".

re-narration of the past trip, is thereby brought as close to the present state of the addressee as possible.

The benefit of a letter writing *hetaira*, however, is not limited to a ventriloquist's dummy. We should also keep in mind that Alciphron's sophistic activity—at least in book 4—completely depends on a *hetaira*'s experiences. As we have seen, these experiences were restricted to Eros. Additionally, to the external male readers *hetairai* are known as objects of desire—and that is exactly what they are for their lovers in Alciphron's book 4.[69] The common longing of Alciphron's letterwriting fishermen, farmers and parasites, then, is extended in book 4, because the letterwriting *hetairai* are both subjects and objects of longing.[70]

Of course, this twist is not a sensation in itself, as the Greek literary tradition has formed the character of the *hetaira* into a consumer good and a status symbol of a male elite.[71] Athenaeus, for example, whom I have already mentioned as a possible influence on the technical passages of 4.13, integrates his book on *hetairai* (*Philosophers at dinner* 13) into the dinner talk of male sophists, thereby synchronising eating and erotic pleasures. In 4.13, at least, Alciphron contextualises the sex life of *hetairai* in a similar manner: their sexual availability is integrated into the course of meals.[72] Moreover, the feasting *hetairai* are alluded to as figs by a passer-by (4.13.2) and are observed by a male god, notorious for his lust (e.g. 4.13.6). It is quite obvious that both texts share the male gaze on *hetairai*, turning them into consumer goods for men.[73]

By this means, *hetairai* represent the (intellectual) attraction of Alciphron's epistolary artistry and its supposed exquisite taste for learned male readers. The

69 Also in 4.13 the internal male focalizers (passer-by, Pan and Priapus) turn *hetairai* into objects of the male gaze. But 4.13 picks up the fact that *hetairai* conventionally have to endure a constant shift between objectivity and subjectivity: all along the re-narration it is female rhetoric, sympotic and sexual activity that prevails in a way as to silence the male internal lovers. In any account men's silence is an enjoyable silence, regarding the erotic and sexual (even botanic and culinary) benefit they get from accompanying the feasting *hetairai*. I am inclined to assume that this consuming reaction of male lovers indicates one possible mode of reading 4.13.

70 This is true even for those three letters written by men (4.8, 4.11 and 4.18). Indeed, the *hetaira*'s duality as desiring subject and object of desire seems to correspond with the assumption that the social status of Alciphron's *hetaira* is floating between slavery and freedom as proposed by Avezzù [1985: 22].

71 Compare e.g. Kurke [1997], Davidson [1997], McClure [2003a] and Glazebrook [2006].

72 As discussed above on pages 232–233.

73 The objectifying gaze on *hetairai* in Athenaeus is best analysed by Henry [1992] and [2000]. The idea of mastery over and consumption of *paideia* disguised in the allegory of a *hetaira* seems to be a common feature of imperial authors, compare n. 55.

letterwriting *hetaira* of 4.13, for example, greatly contributes to the attraction of her letter by integrating sensory details into her writing: her words encompass sound (e.g. 4.13.9: twittering nightingales and dropping water, 4.13.11: music), texture (e.g. 4.13.8: soft ground, 4.13.10: quivering eggs, 4.13.16: leafy and long lettuce) and taste (e.g. 4.13.16: very sweet grapes). This rhetorical mastery of ekphrastic narration synchronises reading and bodily consumption.

4 Conclusion

If we keep in mind that the main issues of 4.13 (letter writing, a *hetaira*'s sex life and the symposium) contribute to the repertoire of (male) sophistic activity, this letter becomes more and more a tantalising read for a πεπαιδευμένος. Filled with rhetorical mastery, erotic content and literary allusions, 4.13 is a showcase product for Alciphron's bookishness, his mastery of imperial παιδεία. In this letter he adopts a *hetaira*'s erotic manipulative power in a sophisticated manner to promote his literary and cultural knowledge. And this adoption is surely not limited to 4.13, but can be extended to book 4 in general.[74]

In the symbolic erotic encounter with *hetairai* of the past, Alciphron offers his erudite readers a most intimate (and with the haptic sensation of reading in mind, possibly the most intense)[75] contact with an idealized past—a contact that, as Alciphron seems to assure self-confidently, can only be fulfilled in the fictional world of his books. In 4.11, an ἐπιτάφιος λόγος on the *hetaira* Bacchis, writing (as well as reading) is presented as an act of memorialising: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἢ τὸ μεμνῆσθαι καταλέλειπται (4.11.9). This seems to be a crucial reality for a πεπαιδευμένος: remembering the glory of the lost Hellenic past is all that is left to him. But it is precisely from this memory that he derives all his pleasure, all his creativity, everything his present life is concerned with.[76]

Alciphron, in my opinion, then, proudly advertises the possibility of momentary 'intellectual escapism', which his epistolary work grants its readers.[77] Instead of suffering from the fact that, in the end, the past must necessarily remain out of reach, he self-consciously points to this very aspect as part of a sophist's activity. In this way Alciphron's ethopoietic microcosm should be

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74 Compare e.g. Fögen [2007: 195–199], who analyses the generic play of the correspondence between lover (Simalion) and hetaira (Petale) in 4.8 and 4.9.

75 On the haptic sensation of imperial (erotic) narratives, see Ní Mheallaigh [2014].

76 Ní Mheallaigh [2014: 26] talks about classical antiquity as a fetish of the Second Sophistic.

77 This idea picks up Rosenmeyer [2001a: 259]: "Letters are by nature fragmentary glimpses into the lives of their writers".

appreciated as a perpetuation of the "momentary cris[i]s"[78] of its inhabitants. The reappearance of loss or rather longing seems to parallel the daily challenges of an imperial πεπαιδευμένος.[79] Where the *Letters of Courtesans* basically excel in, then, is in sweetening the act of memorialising the Hellenic past.

78 Rosenmeyer [2001a: 255].

79 König [2007: 259] stresses the epistolary "oscillation between […] intimacy and disillusionment" and states on p. 281: "[T]he work's many portrayals of extravagant acts of imagination, in the fantasies of its four main groups of characters, potentially have self-reflexive implications for the acts of imagination which Alciphron's readers necessarily themselves engage in." Schmitz [2017: 279] notes that Philostratus's *Love Letters* suggest to overcome the limitations of erotic communication by the evocation of cultural identity: "the cultural elite of Philostratus's time […] will recognise the discourse of tradition and *paideia*. Its textual desire is fulfilled in these texts: while erotic communication may be elusive and frustrating, cultural identity seems secure and unproblematic."

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